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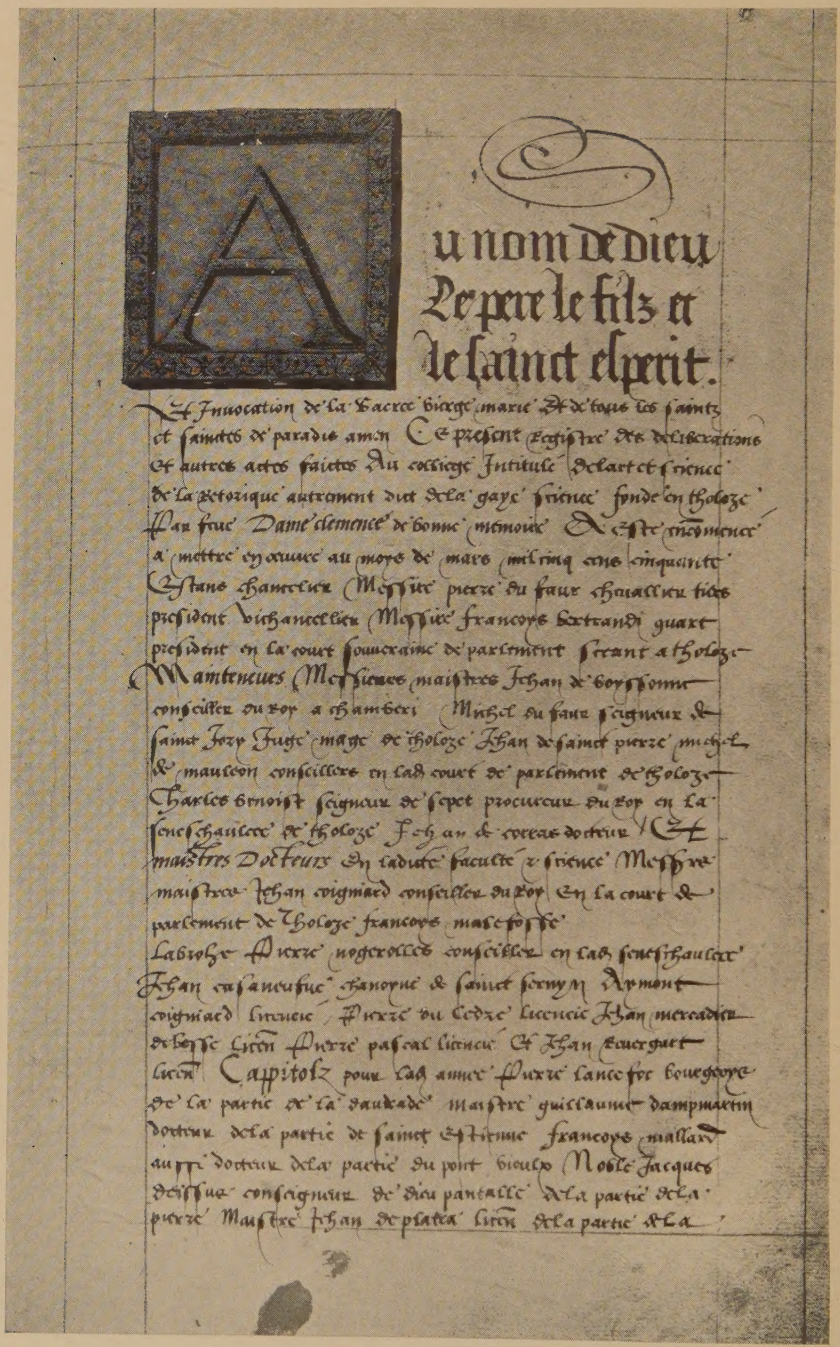

Facsimile of folio 8 r° of the Livre Rouge (Vol. 1.); date 1550. Bibliothèque des Jeux Floraux de Toulouse.

TOULOUSE IN THE RENAISSANCE

THE FLORAL GAMES; UNIVERSITY AND STUDENT LIFE; ETIENNE DOLET (1532–1534)

BY

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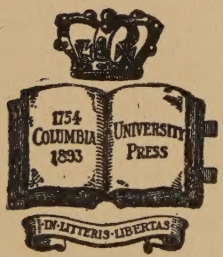

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DEDICATED TO THE

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OF THE

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PREFATORY NOTE

This book is the complete edition of *Toulouse in the Renaissance,* Part I of which appeared from the Columbia University Press in May, 1921.

It had been my intention to append to the present edition a bibliography, but the material collected is so extensive that I have felt constrained to omit it. The most complete bibliography that so far has been published on the Floral Games is contained in F. de Gélis' *Histoire critique des Jeux Floraux,* Toulouse, 1912. For the bibliography concerned with the University of Toulouse the reader is referred to the opening chapter of R. Gadave's *Documents sur l'Histoire de l'Université de Toulouse,* Paris, Picard, 1910. For Étienne Dolet see the biography by H. A. T. Christie, Macmillan, New York, 1899.

For assistance rendered in various ways, I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor J. L. Gerig, H. A. Todd, and Raymond Weeks of the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures, Columbia University, and to Professor Joseph Anglade and Monsieur François de Gélis, mainteneurs of the Floral Games of Toulouse.

JOHN C. DAWSON

HOWARD COLLEGE,
BIRMINGHAM, ALA.,
September, 1923.

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PART I

THE FLORAL GAMES OF TOULOUSE.

(*Les Jeux Floraux.*)

FOUNDED three hundred years before the French Academy, the society of the Floral Games of Toulouse is the oldest of the modern academies of France, forming a connecting link with the middle ages and the Troubadours. The purpose of the founders of this literary association, which in the beginning was known as the Gay Science, was to foster lyric poetry, in the native language, the *langue d'oc* or Provençal (in its later development called somewhat infelicitously by Raynouard and his followers the *langue romane*). The old Provençal Poetry had reached its height in the twelfth century, and the decline of the Troubadours and their poetry came early in the thirteenth century with the crusade against the Albigenses, when the Troubadours were scattered far and wide, the nobility wiped out or ruined, and the splendid civilization of south France broken up. However, the poetic tradition lingered, and the popularity of poetry and its appeal to all classes of people was still very strong in the fourteenth century.[1] Before its decline, the Troubadour poetry had been essentially aristocratic, intended

[1] Guilhem Molinier, in announcing to the public of his day the "promulgation" of the *Leys d'Amors* (*Laws of Poetry;* the poet was known as the *Fin Amant*), a combined "Rhetoric" and "Art of Poetry," or code of laws, drawn up for the guidance of young poets of the Floral Games, sent out a letter in verse, which is evidence of the wide appeal which poetry still possessed in the fourteenth century:

> "Als excellens e redoptatz
> Reys, princeps, dux, marques e comtes,
> Dalfis, admiratz e vescomtes,
> Doctors, maestres, cavayers,
> Licentiatz e bacheliers,
> Baros, nautz, justiciers, borgues,
> Aptes escudiers e cortes,
> Avinens mercadiers e gays,
> Francs menestrals sobtils. . . ."
>
> —*Las Leys d'Amors* (tome i, p. 39),
> edited by Joseph Anglade, Toulouse, Privat, 1919.

for the nobility and for the courts, appealing to the middle classes but rarely, and to the common people not at all.[2] Distinctly a product of the feudal society of southern France, the Troubadour poetry was produced for the entertainment of the nobles in manor-house and château. The nobles themselves, even kings and princes, pursued the art of poetry and became patrons and protectors of the Troubadours. With the passing of the poets, the last princely protectors of the Troubadours had disappeared. It is significant that only one of the seven founders of the Gay Science (*Gaya Sciensa*) was of the nobility.[3] With one exception these men belonged to the *bonne bourgeoisie* of the times. The rise of the middle class dates from the thirteenth century. While the influence of the impoverished nobility was waning, the *bourgeoisie,* engaging in successful trade and commercial enterprises, became enriched, and its influence increased in proportion to its economic independence. Along with the acquisition of wealth came the temptation to imitate the nobility by becoming protectors of poetry; and while the term "Troubadour," as applied to themselves by the seven founders of the Gay Science, may not be strictly correct, they were at any rate the patrons and protectors of the Troubadours and the *mainteneurs* of the *beau langage roman.*[4] So far as is known, only one of the Seven was a poet, the *damoiseau* Bernard de Panassac, two of whose poems have survived, one addressed to the Virgin, the other a profane chanson.[5]

In response to the appeal of the VII Troubadours, poets from various places assembled in Toulouse, bringing with them their poems. They were "right honorably" received by the VII Troubadours and the capitouls or aldermen of the city. The exercises occu-

[2] H. J. Chaytor: *The Troubadours,* p. 10. Cambridge University Press, 1912.

[3] The only noble among the founders of the Floral Games was Bernard de Panassac, seigneur of Arrouède, who was a *routier* (brigand) of the most dangerous type. About the beginning of the year 1336, he was accused of having contributed, along with other Gascon lords, to the assassination of Géraud d'Aguin, *damoiseau.* Panassac's château of Arrouède served as a refuge for murderers who had been banished, not only from the seneschalty of Toulouse, but from the whole kingdom of France.

[4] F. de Gélis: *Histoire critique des Jeux Floraux,* Toulouse, Privat, 1912, p. 13.

[5] Joseph Anglade: *Les Origines du Gai Savoir, Recueil de l'Académie des Jeux Floraux,* 1919, p. 183. Also, his edition of the *Leys d'Amors,* Toulouse, Privat, 1920, t. iv, p. 19.

pied three days, and on the last day, May 3, 1324, the prize, a Golden Violet (*Violeta del aur*), was awarded to the poet Arnaud Vidal, of Castelnaudary, for a *chanson* in honor of the Virgin:

Mayres de Dieu, verges pura,
Vas vos me vir de cor pur,
Ab esperanza segura, etc.[6]

During the mediaeval period, the society of the Floral Games was known as the Consistory of the Gay Science (*Gaya Sciensa:* otherwise called *Gay Saber*). Early in the sixteenth century the Consistory became the College of Rhetoric (*Collège de l'Art et Science de Rhétorique*), and French took the place of the *langue d'oc* as the language of the competing poets. In 1694, letters patent granted by the King, Louis XIV, converted the society into an institution of state under the name of "Academy of the Floral Games of Toulouse" (*Académie des Jeux Floraux*). Since the end of the fifteenth century the society had been popularly known under the title *Jeux Floraux*,[7] apparently an effect of the influence of the Renaissance—a reminiscence of the ancient Floral Games at Rome.

Consistory of the Gay Science.

On Tuesday after All Saints' Day of the year 1323, the "right gay company of the VII Troubadours of Toulouse," as they had styled themselves,

La Sobregaya Companhia
Dels .VII. Trobadors de Tolosa,

met under a laurel tree in a garden or grove in one of the *faubourgs* of Toulouse, and sent out a letter in verse to all the poets of the *langue d'oc,* inviting them to appear on the first of May of the following year (1324) for a poetic tournament in Toulouse. The names and callings of these VII Troubadours have been preserved.

[6] Noulet: *Recueil de Poésie en Langue Romane, "Las Joyas del gay saber,"* p. 3. The poem is here called a *cirventes,* but it is a chanson.

[7] The first official mention of this title is to be found in the Secretary's record (*Le Livre Rouge*) for the year 1555. For the significance of the earliest title, consult Anglade's edition of the *Leys d'Amors,* t. 1, pages 7 and 8; also, t. 4.

One was a noble (*damoiseau*), one a *bourgeois*,[8] two were bankers, two merchants, and one a notary.

Thus was established the ancient and honorable Academy of the Floral Games of Toulouse. The time of the first meeting, May 1–3, was adopted as the date for the annual reunion of the poets, a code of laws or art of poetry (*Leys d'Amors*) was drawn up under the leadership of Guilhem Molinier,[9] and the cultivation of the Muses in the *langue d'oc* continued to the period of the Renaissance. The list of winning poems of this earlier period exhibits a variety of poetic forms: *sirventes, canso, vers, planh, complanh, pastorela, dansa, letra.* They are generally of a religious or patriotic import, the majority of them being addressed to the Virgin Mary. The distinctly religious tendency of the society and the nature of its poetry are well expressed by the author of the *Leys d'Amors*:

"In times past, there were in the royal and noble city of Toulouse, seven distinguished seigneurs, learned, subtle and discreet, who possessed a good desire and a great affection for finding this noble, excellent, marvellous, and virtuous Dame Science, that she might give and furnish them with the gay knowledge of writing in verse, in order to know how to compose good poems in *roman,* whence they might be able to say and recite good and remarkable words, in order to give good doctrines and good instructions, in the praise and honor of God, our Lord, and of his glorious Mother, and of all the Saints in Paradise, for the teaching of the ignorant, for restraining mad and foolish lovers, for living with joy and mirth, and for fleeing ennui and sadness, enemies of the Gay Science."[10]

Although only one prize, the Golden Violet (*Violeta del aur*) was offered in the beginning, it was not long before two others were added: the Eglantine (*Ayglentina* or *Englantina*) and the Marigold (*Gauch*: French *Souci*), which were of silver. Throughout this earlier period the Violet was considered the principal *joya* or

[8] The term *bourgeois* seems to be, in this connection, almost the equivalent to a title of nobility.

[9] Et adonc comezero de bocca a mestre Guilhem Molinier, savi en dreg, que el fes e compiles las ditas reglas, etc. *Leys d'Amors,* édit. Anglade, t. 1, p. 14.

[10] Joseph Anglade: *Origines du Gai Savoir, Recueil de l'Académie des Jeux Floraux,* 1919, p. 179. *Las Leys d'Amors,* t. 1, p. 8.

prize, and the more dignified forms of verse were reserved for it. A study of the winning poems that have been preserved[11] shows that the principal prize was always bestowed for poems written in the form of a *canso,* or *vers.* While the poem of Arnaud Vidal, who was the first to win a prize, is described as a *sirventes,* it is in reality a *canso.* The only exceptions to the above rule are one example of the *planh* and one of the *pastorela.*[12]

Latin civilization had been transplanted to southern Gaul during the period of the greatest glory of the Roman Empire. Lyons, Avignon, Arles, Marseilles, Narbonne, Nîmes and Toulouse became centers of Roman culture at its best. The museums of Toulouse and Arles, the *Maison carrée*, Temple of Diana, and the Arena at Nîmes, the Theatre of Orange, and the old Roman walled city of Aiguesmortes, are all mute and silent reminders of a past glory. With the decay of the Empire, this civilization became gradually transformed into a brilliant feudal and chivalric society. The culture of the past was not lost, but transmuted, finding its expression in the lyric art of the Troubadours. Lyric poetry, as we have it preserved in the great literatures, is the offspring of an advanced civilization. While the elegant Troubadours of the south were singing their refined and intricate lays at the courts of sovereign princes, or in the manor houses and châteaux which dotted the country-side, their ruder brothers of the north, the Trouvères, were singing in epic strains the death of Roland, the prowess of Charlemagne and his twelve peers, the deeds of recalcitrant nobles, or the adventures of the Crusades. With the ancient *Provincia* as his base, Caesar had, in eight successive campaigns, covering as many summers, conquered from the Gauls the territory of the west and north. And while the north underwent the influence of Roman civilization, it was the culture of Rome in its declining days, and it was a retarded civilization. The result was, that while the south produced a refined

[11] See Noulet's edition of the *Fleurs du gai Savoir.*

[12] In 1471 Bérenger de l'Hospital had for his subject the struggle of western Europe against the Turks, a contemporary event. Because he had treated a subject of vital interest rather than one of the conventional themes, he was awarded the prize, although neither the *planh* nor the *pastorela* were forms for which the Violet was usually awarded. By treating a subject of live, contemporary interest, the young poet introduced a new element into the contests of the Gay Science.

literature of an advanced civilization, at the corresponding period the poets of the north were composing epics, the outgrowth of a more primitive life.

The poetry of the Troubadours, with its ennobling themes of chivalry and love, was not only a source of amusement and entertainment, but it was a powerful force in the social and political life of the times, and the Troubadour's position in southern society was in a way somewhat comparable to that of the journalist of the present day. He took an active interest in the troubled life of his times, and the fierce invectives of his *sirventes* were as much feared by the powerful lords of his day as is the violent editorial by the politician of the present. Not only did he wield his pen with deadly effect, but he injected himself frequently in other ways into the movements of his time. So violent a sower of strife was Bertran de Born, that Dante, in his Divine Comedy, placed the old Troubadour in hell, "and there is no need to describe his picture of the Troubadour"

> "Who held the severed member lanternwise
> And said, Ah me!" (Inf. xxviii, 119–142.)

The greatest lords sought the good will of the Troubadour, and the fairest ladies were proud of becoming the inspiration of his verses; for it was held a peculiarly great honor in those days for a lady to become the object of the affection and admiration of a poet.

If the Troubadours inspired noble and chivalric thoughts in palace and château, their humbler companions, the Joglars (French: *Jongleurs*), who frequently sang or recited their masters' improvisations, spread throughout the land a taste for poetry and music; beneath the branches of the ancient village oak, or in the shadow cast by the elms at the well in the public square, the common people would assemble, after the occupations of the day, to hear and to repeat the songs sung by the Joglar to the accompaniment of the *vielle*. Young girls and amorous youths lent breathless attention to the loves of Guilhem de Cabestanh and the beautiful Sermande. We can imagine them shivering with horror when Raymond de Castel-Roussillon informed his wife that she had just eaten the heart of her lover, and all eyes would be filled with tears when the unfortu-

nate châtelaine, in response to her husband's demand as to how she liked her frightful meal, replied that she had found it so good that she would never eat another, rushed to the window of the castle and hurled herself into the yawning abyss. Turning from sterner pictures of love and hate, of infidelity and revenge, the Joglar would relieve the gloomy impression which had been produced upon his audience. To the serious song succeeded the gay refrain and verses filled with covert malice toward the lords and princes. As the Joglar sings his lay and thrums the strings of his *vielle,* a distant sound is heard. All turn, and in the distance is descried a gray-robed pilgrim, who approaches chanting solemn hymns of the sublime mysteries. For a moment the Joglar ceases to be the center of interest, and all listen to the pilgrim's tales of journeys to holy places and to the land of miracles. The pilgrim passes, and new interest is found in the music of the *hautbois* and *tambourin*—a prelude to the dance on the village green.[13]

Although the princely families were broken up and the occupation of the Troubadour sadly diminished, the spirit of poesy remained abroad in the land, and the Troubadours found their successors in the bourgeois society of Toulouse of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. And while the life of the poets of the Floral Games lacks the picturesqueness of that of their ancestors, it is not without its interest. A mural painting in the Hôtel de Ville at Toulouse portrays the poetic contests which were held in a pleasant grove outside the city walls. Upon a rostrum erected under the symbolic branches of a laurel tree stands the poet facing the judges of the contest. In his hand he holds a scroll or parchment upon which is inscribed a rhythmic prayer to the holy Virgin, mother of God, or an invocation to one of the saints in paradise. In measured or impassioned tones, as the case may be, the seeker after Dame Science recites his composition, which is listened to in enraptured silence by the imposing audience grouped about the speaker's stand. As the assembled throng hears the liquid syllables flow from the mouth of the poet, one of the auditors, a mere youth, in whose breast perhaps the divine fire of the Muses is already stirring, starts forward, drinking in with eager attention, the lines of the *canso* or *vers.*

[13] Moline de Saint Yon: *Histoire des Comtes de Toulouse,* vol. i, p. 545.

Poetry is not dead; but instead of dwelling in the great mansion as the companion of noble lords and fair châtelaines, she has been caught up in the all-embracing arms of the church and henceforth, for two centuries, will be but a handmaiden to serve the church's interests. In the course of time, the religious fervor which ruled the spirits of men at the beginning of the Gay Science, lessens and grows lukewarm; the power and authority of the church weakens, and men begin to have disturbing and rebellious thoughts on the subject of religion. The language and ideas of the victorious north have gradually won their way into the centre of the conquered country; along with the lessening of religious fervor, the poets of the Gay Science tire of writing in their ancient tongue, and become weary of the constant annual repetition of the ancient Provençal forms of verse. As the end of the fifteenth century draws near, the languishing spirit of the Gay Science all but dies. With the advent of Louis XII, the influences from the north penetrate with renewed vigor. Lacking within herself the power of renascence, Dame Science forms a union with Dame Rhetoric, and for two centuries more the poetry of the Floral Games becomes the grafted product of the dying spirit of the south and the decadent spirit of the north.[14] During this period the poets lack inspiration, poetry expresses itself in the narrow trammels of the *ballade* and *chant royal,* and comes to be written in a language that is foreign to the poets and to which they adapt themselves only with difficulty. The simplicity of the reunions in the garden outside the city walls has been replaced by formal gatherings in the city hall. The disinterested spirit of the early founders becomes replaced by the desire for honors, and the office of mainteneur is sought more and more frequently by the regents of the university, the higher officers of the seneschalty and the members of the parlement.[15] With the rise of the parlement to the first place of influence, the offices of the Floral Games are more and more preëmpted by it, until by the seventeenth century, the society has become, as it were, an adjunct of the parlement, and the red robe of the parlementaires becomes

[14] Dumège, *Histoire des institutions de Toulouse* (tome 4), mentions the Rhetorical influence, but does not develop the subject.

[15] The French form of this word is preserved throughout in preference to the English word "parliament."

the symbol of the pomp, display and conventionality surrounding the annual reunions. No longer do the poets from the plains of Gascony and the valley of the Aude turn their faces each passing year toward the city of the Muses. The cultivation of poetry becomes an exercise of the students in the university and the clerks of the Basoche,[16] and whatever of inspiration these may possess is stifled by the religious traditions descending from Dame Science and the restricting and artificial trammels of the *chant royal,* the legacy of Dame Rhetoric. The result is, that for two hundred years not a single poem above the second order is produced by the contestants for honors in the Floral Games. And yet, notwithstanding the mediocrity in general of the poems for which are awarded prizes at the annual reunions, the society exerts a wholesome influence on poetry; and French literature, as we shall see, becomes enriched by it.

College of the Art and Science of Rhetoric

The second epoch in the history of the Floral Games, that of the College of Rhetoric, extends from 1513 to 1694. The principal sources of information concerning this period are the secretary's record known as the *Livre Rouge,* extending from 1513 to 1641; and from the latter date to the raising of the society to the rank of an Academy under royal protection in 1694, the "Triumphs" (*Triomphes*) of the winning poets. The *Triomphes* were little volumes of poems published usually by Colomiès or Boude, bearing symbolic and frequently fantastic titles, such as: *Le Mont de Parnasse pour le Triomphe de la Violette, Les Larmes de Clytie, pour le Triomphe du Soucy,* or *Le Vice abattu et la Vertu triomphante pour le Triomphe de l'Églantine.* In them the poet included his winning poem, a number of other compositions which he had in all probability read before the judges, and the madrigals of praise and congratulation composed by his friends. The *Livre Rouge* is a precious record, without which very little could be known of the Floral Games in the period of the Renaissance. It was begun in

[16] The Association of the Clerks of the Parlement. The Basoche (*basilica*) at Paris had considerable influence on the history of French comedy. The corporation passed out of existence at the time of the French Revolution.

1550 by the greffier or secretary, Bernard Coderci, who inserted into his book all of the loose leaf records he could find from previous years. The two volumes of manuscripts of the *Livre Rouge,* preserved in the archives of the Floral Games at Toulouse, are of the *format petit in-folio,* and contain the annual proceedings of the College of Rhetoric from 1513 to 1641. The first of them covers the period 1513–1583; the second that of 1584–1641. Each of them contains 363 sheets, or in all, 1452 pages, written in cursive and Gothic characters, displaying the most varied specimens of the handwritings in vogue during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In them are to be found the names of the chancellors, mainteneurs, maîtres, capitouls, the candidates who competed for honors, and the texts of the winning poems for which were awarded the Violet, the Eglantine, and the Marigold in the annual contests of the third of May. The original cover of the first of these volumes caused it to be called the *Livre Rouge.* The second volume, also because of the color of its cover, was known as the *Livre Vert.* The two volumes, now in uniform binding, red morocco with *gros filets dorés,* are commonly known as the *Livre Rouge.* At the beginning of each volume are illuminated pages representing Christ on the Cross, together with four short extracts from the Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. It was upon this illuminated text that new officials took the oath of office, swearing fidelity to the society and its interests. Up to 1550 the annual records were evidently left in loose-leaf form and, with the exceptions noted just below, were lost. Owing to the forethought of the secretary, Bernard Coderci, the *procès-verbaux* for the years 1513, 1519, 1535, 1539–1549, were included in the new book, and they are a source of valuable information on the Floral Games during the earlier Renaissance.[17] From the year 1550 the complete record was preserved of the three annual sittings: that of the first of April (*Semonce*), that of the first of May (*Ouverture des Jeux*), and that of the third of May (*Distribution des prix*).

[17] During the late war, Monsieur François de Gélis, mainteneur of the Floral Games, was, on account of the state of his health, honorably discharged from the French army. He spent the period of convalescence in transcribing and editing the contents of the *Livre Rouge.* The present writer was permitted to bring this manuscript copy to America, and it has become the basis of his

Both the decadence of the *langue d'oc* in the fifteenth century and the progress toward the unification of the kingdom of France, had their influence upon the substitution of French for the old native language in the poetic contests of the Consistory of Gay Science. The triumph of French over Latin as the official language of France, came with the decree of Villers-Cotterets promulgated by Francis I in 1539; but the complete ascendancy of French as the national language was delayed until the seventeenth century. It is of significance, therefore, that French made its appearance in Toulouse as a literary language as early as 1513, the year in which the native *langue d'oc* appeared for the last time in the poetic contests of the Floral Games. Although the young poets were permitted to read poems in their native tongue in the annual gatherings throughout the sixteenth century, in no case was a prize given for a poem in any language except French. Coincident with the change of language was the change of name to that of the College of the Art and Science of Rhetoric (*Collège de l'Art et Science de Rhétorique*), a title clearly inspired by the reigning school of French poets, the Rhetoricians (*Grands Rhétoriqueurs*). With the change of language also came a change of form in which winning poems must be composed. We have noted previously the various forms that were in vogue in the period of the Gay Science. These old Provençal genres were replaced by the *ballade* and *chant royal.* Since the *vers* and *canso* were the traditional forms for which the main prize, the Violet, had been awarded, it is probable that these two survived longer than any of the others. At any rate, in 1513 (date of the beginning of the records in the *Livre Rouge*) we find that one of the prizes was awarded for a *vers* and the other two for *ballades.* In 1519, the next year in which the *Livre Rouge* contains a record all three of them were awarded for *ballades.* By that time the *ballade* had become recognized as the sole form in the awarding of prizes. No mention is made in the *Leys d'Amors,* the handbook of the earlier poets, of the *ballada* or *ballade.* In the poems of the Gay Science

work. The manuscript copy is a faithful and accurate transcription, line for line and page for page, of the original. The annotations which it contains are of a scholarly and illuminating character, and they have been of invaluable assistance to the writer in acquiring a comprehensive and appreciative knowledge of the records contained in the *Livre Rouge.*

that have come down to us, occur no poems designated by this name. A form of *balada* had been cultivated by the ancient Troubadours, but it had nothing in common with the *ballade* except that it had a refrain. The last extant poem of the Gay Science is of the year 1498. The use of the *ballade* evidently came into vogue in the Floral Games between this date and 1513. The life of the *ballade* in the contests of the Floral Games was comparatively short. As stated above, the winning poems of 1513 consisted of one *vers* and two *ballades*. By 1519 the *ballade*, evidently an importation from north France, had fully superseded the *vers*, and the transition to a north French form was then complete. But there soon came a struggle between the *ballade* and the *chant royal*. In 1539, the first year for which the winning poems are transcribed on the pages of the *Livre Rouge*, we find two poems, one of which is a *ballade* and the other a *chant royal*. By 1540, all of the winning poems are *chants royaux*, and while an occasional *ballade* is found in the records after that year, 1540 may be accepted as the date of the conquest of the *chant royal* over its rival. The year 1554 marks the introduction into the records of the *sonnet*, but at no time was a prize ever awarded for a poem of this genre. The inclusion of an occasional *sonnet* along with a winning *chant royal* shows that the poets of the Floral Games were in the habit of reading other than the conventional forms before the judges. In the course of time, the sonnet became the only one used in the *Essay*, an impromptu trial by which the merits of the various candidates were tested.[18] From

[18] The *Essay*, established in 1540, developed into a regular feature of the annual contests. In the year mentioned, owing to the fact that there were several candidates of apparently equal skill and merit, the judges had difficulty in coming to a decision. In order to determine the winners, they resorted to an impromptu test which they called *examen*. The device was resorted to again the following year, and was then called the *Essay*. Such tests became a regular practice, and the name *Essay* was adopted. By 1565 the practice arose of selecting a group of candidates, whose works were clearly superior, for the trial by *Essay*. This was done regardless of difficulty in selecting the winners, and the custom prevailed throughout the period (at least) covered by the *Livre Rouge*. The purpose of the *Essay* was to test the candidates' ability to compose verses on the spot. The aspiring poets were assigned a "last line" of poetry by the judges, as for example,

"La chaleur du soleil est la vie du monde,"

upon which they were to construct their verses. At first, the poems thus com-

1540, with the exception of a few *ballades* and an *oraison à Dieu* by which Jehan Flavin won the Violet in 1548, the *chant royal* is the sole form for which prizes are awarded. Étienne Pasquier in his *Recherches* (liv. vii) says:

"Vray que comme toutes choses se changent selon la diversité des temps, aussi apres que nostre Poësie françoise fut demeuree quelques longues annees en friche, on commença d'enter sur son vieux tige, certains nouueaux fruits auparauant incogneus à tous nos anciens Poëtes: Ce furent Chants Royaux, Ballades, & Rondeaux. Je mets en premier lieu le Chant Royal comme la plus digne piece de ceste nouuelle Poësie, & se faisait, ou en l'honneur de Dieu, ou de la Vierge sa mere, ou sur quelque autre grand argument, & non seulement la plus digne, mais aussi la plus penible. Et parce que depuis le regne de Henry deuxieme nous avons perdu l'vsage de ces trois pieces, ie vous en representeray icy le formulaire. Au Chant Royalle fatiste (ainsi nommerent-ils le Poëte d'vn mot François symbolizant auecques le Grec) estoit obligé de faire cinq onzaines en vers de dix syllabes, que nous appellons héroïques, & sur le modele de ce premier, falloit que

posed had to be in the form of a *quatrain, huitain,* or *dixain.* Later, when the *sonnet* had become popular in France, it was adopted, and soon became the sole form used in the *Essay.* In undergoing this trial, the poets were shut up under lock and key. While they were thus engaged, the judges and other officials partook of the banquet, which was a part of the annual program. While the banquet was still in progress, the poets were released, were brought into the presence of the judges in the banqueting hall, and there read the verses which they had just composed. The *Livre Rouge* does not contain any specimens of such verses, but the writer has been able to secure a transcription of one contained in a small collection of poems published as a *Triomphe* by Grégoire de Barutel, winner of the Eglantine in 1651:

SONNET DE L'ESSAY.

FRANCE, quoy que l'orgueil d'vn bany te menace,
Sçaches qu'il n'est plus temps de reprendre des pleurs,
Et que les immortels apres tant de douleurs
Vont te faire jouyr d'une longue bonace.

Tes plus fiers ennemis ont perdu leur audace,
La peur les a fletris de ses pasles couleurs,
Depuis que le Ciel sait epanoüir les Fleurs
Que le malheur fermoit dans le Haure de Grace.

Ces Illustres Captifs que la rigueur du fort
Auoit presque reduits à deux doigts de la mort,
Ont esté iustement deliurez d'esclavage.

Les Parlemens les ont rendus aux bons François,
Eun chacun d'eux peut crier à haute voix
Mes ennemis sur moy n'auront point d'auantage.

tous les autres tombassent en la mesme ordonnance qu'estoit la rime du premier, & fussent pareillement accolez mot pour mot du dernier vers, qu'ils appelloient le Refrain. Et en fin fermoient leur Chant Royal par cinq vers, qu'ils nommoient Renvoy, gardans la mesme reigle qu'aux autres, par lesquels, les addressant à Vn Prince, ils recapitulaoient en bref ce qu'ils auoient amplement discouru dedans le corps de leur Poëme."[19]

Noulet, in the introduction of his edition of the "*Joyas del gay saber,*"[20] says, in speaking of the earlier history of the Floral Games:

"It was necessary to remain true to the Catholic faith and to compose in pure *roman* (the ancient *langue d'oc* or *Provençal*). Then, the poets were to have in view only the quest of the *beau* and the *honnête,* and, in order to arrive at this result, to treat only religious subjects, or at least those bearing the imprint of a high moral character.[21] All that

[19] The *chant royal,* in its definitive form, had five stanzas and an *envoi.* Each stanza was composed of eleven lines, and the rhyme scheme of each was the same. The *envoi* of five lines repeated the rhyme scheme of the last five lines of the stanzas. The refrain was the last line of the first stanza repeated as the last line of each succeeding stanza, and as the last line of the *envoi.* In the poetry of the Floral Games, the lines were of ten syllables until the *Alexandrine* came into use, when the line of twelve syllables was substituted for that of ten. Also, in the Floral Games the *envoi* came to be known as the *allégorie,* an innovation of the poets of Toulouse. Because of the religious traditions connected with it, the *chant royal* stuck more closely to the original intention of the genre in the poetry of the Floral Games than elsewhere. This species of poem continued to be cultivated by the aspirants to honors until the College was transformed into an Academy in 1694. Among the statutes enacted for governing the Floral Games at the time of the transformation, is to be found the following statement: "The poems for which in earlier times prizes were given, being out of use, and the *chant royal,* which succeeded them, having been abandoned in recent years as a poetry too restrictive. . . ." The *chant royal* was cultivated by several of the great poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, passing out of vogue with La Fontaine. It was revived in the nineteenth century, and has been cultivated by several of the modern English poets, of whom one of the earliest was Edmond Gosse.

A useful study of the origin and nature of the *chant royal* is contained in Appendix III of Cohen's *The Ballade,* Columbia University Press, 1915.

[20] French = *Joies du gai savoir.*

[21] Les troubadours de la décadence partagaient leur talent entre la poésie profane et la poésie religieuse. L'école toulousaine alla plus loin; elle n'admet plus que cette dernière. L'amour de Dieu et surtout de la Vierge furent à peu près les seuls sentiments qu'il fût permis d'exprimer.—Joseph Anglade, *Las Leys d'Amors,* Toulouse, 1920, tome 4, p. 47.

appertained to profane love, and even that ideal love, cult of the knights and troubadours of the past, was severely interdicted, or rather the expression of this last sentiment was bestowed upon a single object, the Virgin Mary."

The poets of the College of Rhetoric were compelled to follow in the traditions of their predecessors of the Gay Science. From time to time the restrictions were renewed, as is intimated to us by numerous entries in the *Livre Rouge.* As late as 1573 the *Livre Rouge* contains an entry enjoining on the poets to present poems in praise of God, the Virgin Mary, and the saints: "let the works they shall desire to recite and pronounce, be composed in honor and praise of God, of the holy and blessed Virgin Mary, mother of God, saints (*sainctz et sainctes*) of paradise, and of Lady Clémence Ysaure of good memory."[22]

Toulouse had been the center of the Albigensian heresy, and after this had been wiped out through the conquest of the south by the king of France and the pope, the latter had determined to make Toulouse a stronghold of the Catholic faith. As a part of the plan to accomplish this, the university was founded and the Inquisition

[22] The *Livre Rouge* affords a good study of the evolution of the legend of Clémence Isaure, as the restorer of the Floral Games. This legend had its birth at the close of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, just at the moment of the transformation of the Gay Science into the College of Rhetoric. The controversy as to her real or imaginary existence lasted for several centuries, but scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have demonstrated conclusively that no such character ever existed. The *oraison* of Clémence Isaure is still pronounced at each annual meeting of the Floral Games, but the legendary patroness has become nothing more than a shadowy ideal of poetry. Beginning with the Latin poem in her honor read in the contest of 1534 by Étienne Dolet (at the time a student in the faculty of law at Toulouse), Dame Clémence became the inspiration of many of the young poets for several centuries. In the eighteenth century Florian made her the subject of his celebrated *romance, Estelle* (set to music by Cherubini). For interesting studies on Clémence Isaure see: Roschach, *Variations du roman de Clémence Isaure,* and *Les Avatars de Clémence Isaure,* in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences* of Toulouse; also François de Gélis' splendid and complete treatment, *La Légende de Clémence Isaure,* in his *Histoire critique des Jeux Floraux,* Toulouse, 1912. Among earlier writers on the subject see Catel, Lafaille, Ponsan, Dom Vaysette, Lagane, Dumège. The last was an ardent believer in the existence of Clémence Isaure. His views may be seen from articles in his *Biographie Toulousaine,* Michaud, 1823; and in his *Histoire des Institutions de Toulouse.*

was instituted.[23] By the beginning of the fourteenth century Toulouse had been converted into an orthodox Catholic city, and it was under the influence of this reactionary religious impulse that the Floral Games had been established.

The most striking feature of the old Troubadour poetry was its treatment of the theme of love. The Troubadour conception of love was the outcome of the theory of knighthood or chivalry under the influence of mariolatry. In the eleventh century the worship of the Virgin Mary became widely popular; the reverence bestowed upon the Virgin was extended to womanhood in general, and as a vassal owed obedience to his feudal overlord, so did he owe service and devotion to his lady.[24] While the poetry of the Troubadours doubtless had its rise under religious influences, it was not a religious poetry. Not until towards the close of the thirteenth century did distinctly religious poetry begin to be cultivated in the south of France. Guiraut Riquier, known as "the last Troubadour,"[25] who died in the last decade of the thirteenth century, wrote distinctly religious verse. The founders of the Floral Games followed his example in writing on religious subjects, and so strong was the religious reaction of the times that the poets of the new school were in full revolt against the profane themes of the earlier Troubadours. By 1356, the year in which the *Leys d'Amors* appeared, the tradition had become fixed, and the *Leys d'Amors,* written as a grammar, rhetoric and poetic art, for the guidance of the *Fins Amants* (as the contestants were called)[26] laid down the rule that the poems presented for prizes should be of a distinctly religious import, in praise of God, the Virgin and the saints, or at least of a lofty moral nature. This last clause was a distinct hit at the old Troubadour poetry, which to the men of the fourteenth century seemed trivial with its endless variations of profane love.

[23] The Inquisition was not fully abolished at Toulouse until 1772. Its influence on the founders of the Gay Science may be seen by the following paragraph from the *Leys d'Amors* (édit. Anglade, t. II, p. 23).

"Errors es lo majors vicis de totz, quar es contra la fe catholica; per que hom ne deu recebre ni dar joya per dictat que parle de la santa theologia, en cas doptos, si donx la sentensa no era clara e manifesta, o aproada per l'Enqueridor."

[24] Chaytor: *The Troubadours,* p. 15.

[25] See the admirable book of Professor Joseph Anglade, of the University of Toulouse: *Le Troubadour Guiraut Riquier,* Paris, 1905.

Du Bellay, in his *Deffence et Illustration de la langue françoise* (1549), counsels the young poets to leave such trifles as the *ballade* and *chant royal* to the Floral Games of Toulouse and the Puy of Rouen. That the poets of the Floral Games, in spite of the glorious efflorescence of classical forms of lyric poetry in the north during the sixteenth century, continued to cultivate exclusively the *chant royal* until at least 1641,[27] and for the most part if not exclusively until 1694[28] seems less strange when we consider the historical background. It must be borne in mind that the tradition of the Floral Games was more religious than poetic. Founded in the orthodox Catholic faith, the society maintained its religious traditions throughout the sixteenth century in spite of the bitter struggles of the period of the Reformation. That the religious revolution was felt within the society is proven by many entries in the *Livre Rouge*.[29]

[26] Provençal: Fis Aymans, Fin Ayman.

[27] The year in which the records of the *Livre Rouge* end.

[28] The year in which the College of Rhetoric became the Academy of the Floral Games.

[29] An entry in the *Livre Rouge* for the year 1563 reads as follows: "A esté remonstré par led. seigneur Coignard, la calamité du temps que se présentoit, tant de mort cruelle et hostille que de peste et famyne, et mesmes que aux envyrons ou bien près de lad. ville y avoit plusieurs assemblées ou moien de quoy se faisoient plusieurs incursions hostilles, que debvoit esmouvoir les assistans, faire cesser toutes assemblées et lettures publiques."

An entry of 1564 reads: "Semblablement est inhibé à toute qualité de gens de porter arnoiz à ladicte assemblée, contre les édicts du Roy, ne faire tumultes, noise, ne insolances, à peyne de prison et autre exemplaire."

In 1568 "feust dict et remonstré publiquement que attendu la calamité du temps, advenue pour raison des troubles qui sont en France, et mesmes en environs de ceste ville, au moien desquelz et que l'assemblée qui communément se faict de toute qualité de gens les premier et tiers jours de May ordonnés, pour ouyr prononcer les pohesmes et faire le jugement des fleurs, suivant l'institution de dame Clémence et coustume antienne, se pourroit en suivre quelque escandalle, par quoy avant faire la semonce acoustumée faicte, semblable jour, seroit expédient de traiter coment conviendra en user pour céder au temps."

1569: ". . . mais aussi sur l'élection du chancellier vichancellier et autres maincteneurs en lad. science, absans, fugitifs, mortz ou autrement condamnés."

An entry of 1571 has to do with Jean de Coras, who was the next year one of the victims of the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew: "Ledict sieur Durant, maincteneur, a remonstré par messieurs les maincteneurs, cappitoulz bayles et M^rs^ [for *maîtres*], avoyr esté esleu à l'estat de maincteneur vaquant par

When the transition was made from the *langue d'oc* to the French, it was but natural that French forms should be adopted along with the language. The *ballade* and the *chant royal* were the two, and especially the latter, which best accorded with the traditions of the Gay Science. For this reason, the *chant royal* became eventually the sole form in which the winning poems were composed. But if the poets were compelled to conform to conventions in order to win the prizes, they were free to read poems before the judges constructed in any form and written in Latin, French, or in the native language. In 1534, Étienne Dolet presented ten poems written in Latin and of various genres. At early as May, 1551 a poet from Béarn, Bernard de Poey, at the time a student in the university, in all probability read odes in the presence of the judges. In 1554, a sonnet was included along with a winning *chant royal* in the records of the *Livre Rouge*. And, as above stated, the poets continued to read poems in the *langue d'oc* throughout the sixteenth century.

The precise moment of the transition from the Consistory of Gay Science to the College of the Art and Science of Rhetoric is unknown; but the change took place between 1498 and the opening records of the *Livre Rouge*. As has already been said, the entries in the *Livre Rouge* begin with the year 1513, and that has been accepted as the date of the reorganization of the society. It is

l'absence de monsieur M^e^ Jehan de Corras et parceque led. de Corras, conseiller en la court, au moyen de l'édict de pacification est remis en ses honneurs et dignités, déclaire n'entendre l'empescher aud. lieu de maincteneur ne aulcunement contrevenir à l'édict de pacification et pour le reguard de la réquisition faicte par led. scindic, il n'y peult oppiner." The record for 1572, on the very eve of the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew, has an intensely interesting entry with regard to Coras. Coras, who was a Protestant, refused to join the mainteneurs and capitouls in celebrating the mass, which, as usual, preceded the sittings of the officials of the Floral Games, but joined them afterwards. The record reads: ". . . led. de Coras absent et retiré, entrarent après lad. messe dicte dans le grand concistoire de lad. maison de ville, assistés aussi dud. de Coras. . . ." The record of 1573 speaks casually of the "decease" of Coras: "Et que a présent seroit advenu que ledict de Coras, en absence duquel il auroit esté esleu maincteneur en lad. année mil V^c^ LXIX, seroit décédé, a supplié la compagnie vouloir faire adviser. . . ." Jean de Coras was a brilliant humanist and occupied chairs of civil law in various universities of Italy and France. After the middle of the century he forsook the scholastic robe for the red robe of the parlement.

unfortunate that a Frédéric Mistral could not have appeared at the opening of the sixteenth century. If a strong, virile, patriotic writer had appeared at that time, the language and literature of the south might have been revived, and the subsequent history of the Floral Games would surely have been different. At any rate, it is to be regretted that the reorganization was not deferred until a half century later, when the Renaissance influences in France were in full swing. A reorganization at this later time would have had very vital consequences, and the influence of the Floral Games on the history of French literature would certainly have been far-reaching and noteworthy.

The reorganization of the Floral Games came just at the moment when the influence of the decadent Rhetoricians of the north had become widespread, infesting France like the plague.[30] The decay of the earlier epic literature of north France had paralleled that of the lyric Provençal literature of the south; and whereas the ancient Troubadours had been succeeded by the *Fins Amants* of the Consistory of Gay Science at Toulouse, the Trouvères of the north had found their successors in the poetic school of the Rhetoricians, and for two centuries poetry came to be known as Rhetoric.[31] The rules for the composition of poetry were multiplied, and numerous treatises for the guidance of aspiring poets were published, bearing frequently grandiose and fantastic titles, which are of themselves suggestive of the conception that men of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had of poetry. The names of some of these treatises on poetic art are illuminating. Between the *Art de Dictier* of Eustache Deschamps in 1392 and the *Art poétique* of Thomas Sibilet in 1548, there is a long line of such manuals. The titles of a few of them are sufficient for illustration:[32] *Les règles de la Seconde Rhétorique* (1411–1432), *Le Doctrinal de la Seconde Rhétorique* (1432), *Traité de l'Art de Rhétorique* (between 1433 and 1466), Jean Molinet's *Art et Science de Rhétorique* (1493), *Le Jardin de plaisance et fleur de rhétorique* (1499); Pierre Fabri's *Grant et*

[30] Lanson, *Histoire de la littérature française*, p. 182.

[31] Prose was called the art of First Rhetoric; and Poetry was known as the art of Second Rhetoric.

[32] See Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la Littérature française*, for more complete information. Also Cohen's *The Ballade*, Columbia University Press, 1915.

Vraie Art de Pleine Rhétorique (1521), Gracien du Pont's *Art et Science de Rhetorique metrifiee* (1539 at Toulouse).

What is now generally known as the school of the Rhetoricians (*Grands Rhétoriqueurs*) was not a conscious and definite movement in literature, as for instance at later periods that of the Pléïade and that of the Romanticists, but was a gradual outgrowth corresponding to the decay of feudalism and the rise of the middle class which paralleled the literary changes in the south. In reviewing the literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it has been seen that the earliest tendencies toward regarding literature as Rhetoric are to be found in Guillaume de Machault in the earlier fourteenth century, of whom Lanson says: "to him the honor of having revealed the secret of serpentine, equivocal, leonine, alternate or retrograde, sonant or consonant, rhymes." Although a mere name to-day, Machault was in the eyes of his own age a great poet. He was imitated by the English writers, among others Chaucer, and gave to English literature the heroic couplet. The most striking evidence of his popularity is the effect that he had on poetry. He was a musician in an age when music was much cultivated. "By devoting particular attention to the union of verse and music and the composition of songs he became largely responsible for the vogue of complicated metres in which poets began to delight, metres which became daily more involved until they culminated in the verbal atrocities of the *rhétoriqueurs* who carry into *belles-lettres* the *procédés* of the schoolmen. He, himself, for instance, took chief pride in the *lai* which was, if anything more complicated than the other metres. But the form which won chief favor was the *ballade,* as marked a feature of early poetry as the *sonnet* was of the later."[33] Of the influence of this school which found its ancestor in Machault, Lanson says:[34] "There will be no further change in things until the Renaissance. For almost two centuries the same genres will be cultivated: above all, the *ballade* will be the master form of poetry, cherished by the professional poets (Eustache Deschamps composes them in 1374), practiced by amateurs (the *Book of the Hundred Ballades* is the collective work of princes and lords of the court of Charles

[33] C. H. C. Wright: *A History of French Literature,* p. 112. Oxford University Press, 1912.

[34] Lanson: *Histoire de la Littérature française,* p. 144.

VI) : the *ballade* will be what the *sonnet* was in the decadence of the Renaissance before the maturing of the classic genius. . . . The name which is henceforth to be used of poetry, the name which depicts marvellously the poetry of two centuries, from Machault and Deschamps to Cretin and Molinet, which the fourteenth century adopts and perpetuates, that name is Rhetoric."

It is extremely difficult to appreciate at their true value the Rhetoricians. With the passing of feudal and chivalric ideals, there came a readjustment and reconstruction of society over the whole of France. The literary product of feudal society ceased to have a vital meaning, and, like the social order under whose influence it had been composed, it passed away. To meet the needs of the renewed society which gradually evolved between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, a new literature had formed, one which beyond doubt reflected the ideals and intellectual aspirations and needs of the public for which it had been written. In the old society intellectual ideals had been lacking. The literature which had been produced under its inspiration, while marvellous in its simplicity and the fidelity with which it depicted the spirit and manners of the age, was the product of an epoch intellectually uncultured. With the loosening of the bonds between overlord and vassal, with the growth of commerce and the rise of a middle class of importance, with the development of an office-holding class in the employ of the king, as for example the numerous officials of the seneschalty and the parlements, with the growing authority of the church over the minds of men, with the rise and development of the mediaeval universities, there had gradually come to be formed a wider range of interests, and it was the task of the Rhetoricians to produce a literature which would meet the needs of this new social order in the making. In order to understand just how well they performed their work, it would be necessary to have a complete understanding of the intellectual and spiritual forces of the age as represented by scholasticism. The literature of the Rhetorical school went hand in hand with scholasticism, and both became outworn and were cast aside. With the difference, however, that while certain phases of scholastic thought continued until the seventeenth century, Rhetoric suffered a complete breakdown early in the sixteenth century. At no time in the history of the world, perhaps, has the literature of an

age collapsed more completely and spectacularly than did that of France at this period. The sign of decadence was not that men ceased to write, but that writers greatly multiplied, and the quality of the product diminished in proportion to the increase. Letters lost their vitality, authors became mere imitators, and imitators of the eccentricities and worst features of their models; so that for more than a generation a veritable host of writers busied themselves with the composition of works that are now regarded as the most absurd, ridiculous, and fantastic ever produced. Critics in estimating the worth of the Rhetoricians have been too apt to judge them at their worst, and their condemnation has been severe. But that the Rhetoricians hold a definite place of importance in the history of French letters, there can be little, if any, doubt, and while the literature of France of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries may not appeal to the modern world as much as that which preceded or followed it, neither do those centuries appeal to us to-day, in general, as much as the periods of chivalry and of the Renaissance. Two services, at least, were performed by the Rhetoricians which were to be of capital importance to the succeeding school of the Pléiade. Under their influence the audience for literature was greatly extended. Literature does not flourish without an audience any more than does the stage. In the second place, they kept alive and stimulated interest in antiquity. They misunderstood antiquity, but it attracted them nevertheless, and they gave voice to the notions that generally prevailed at that time concerning it. When Du Bellay and Ronsard began to write, they found an audience already formed and one already familiar after a fashion with the antiquity which they sought to revive and truthfully imitate. Had it not been for the work of the Rhetoricians, the gulf between the revived antiquity of the Renaissance and the people of France would have been much greater than it was. It is true that the knowledge which the Rhetoricians had of antiquity was practically confined to Rome. Greece was scarcely known to them. But the Renaissance, when it came, was a Latin Renaissance, and not until the seventeenth century did it become a widespread movement covering both Greece and Rome.[35]

[35] The most recent work on the development of French Classicism is Professor C. H. C. Wright's *French Classicism*, Harvard University Press, 1921.

If the decadent Rhetorical poetasters suffered from a poverty of thought, and if they debauched poetic art, their most unpardonable sin was against the language. Under their influence French verse became at times utterly unintelligible. The following lines are good illustrations of their writing at its worst:

In 1471 Jean Molinet addressed a letter in verse to one of his friends which is a queer macaronic mixture of French and Latin:

> . . . Si de meo statu petis,
> Perdus sommes grans et petis:
> Habuimus multa bella
> Depuis qu'Amiens se rebella . . .

Étienne Pasquier, in his *Recherches,* notes the following:

> Iliades curae quae mala corde serunt,

which may be read in French,

> Il y a des curés qui mal accordés seront.

The fondness for alliteration is to be seen in the following lines from Jean Boucher:

> Françoys faitiz, francz, fors, fermes au fait,
> Fins, frais, de fer, feroces, sans frayeur . . .

Verse reached the stage of utter unintelligibility under the pen of André de la Vigne. In an invective against Atropos he indulges in the following:

> Tric, trac, troc, trop, trousselant, triquetroque,
> Trainc très terreux, trep de triquenoque,
> Traistre trousson, triquenique tribraque,
> Truye troussine, triquedondayne troque,
> Triste truande, triple trouble tibroque,
> Tresvil trect traict, traffigue tripliarque,
> Trace trouvée, tribullante trymarque . . .[36]

It was the debauching of the language which most of all caused

[36] The examples given are taken from Henry Guy's *Histoire de la poésie française au xvi^e siècle* (2 vols.), vol. i, *L'École des Rhétoriqueurs.* Paris, Champion, 1910.

the Rhetoricians to fall under the utter condemnation which was heaped upon them by the generation of the Renaissance; and yet, the Pléïade themselves were not able to steer clear of excess in language, and it was that more than anything else which caused such a violent turning from them in the seventeenth century.

The rhetorical tendencies in French literature reached a climax in the group of poets gathered around Marguerite of Austria in Flanders, in the court poets of Burgundy, and finally at the court of France under the protection of Anne of Brittany. At the dawn of the sixteenth century literature was still under the complete sway of mediaeval ideas. "The self-centered intellectual life of the fifteenth century had lacked critical taste or discernment. Learning was turgid and pedantic and by the end of the century all of the tendencies were towards involution and complication." This was the age of the last effete descendants of a long line of poets, the *grands rhétoriqueurs,* the chief of whom was Jean Molinet, official poet of the court of Burgundy. The poets of Burgundy gave the tone to the rhymesters of the other feudal courts. "Louis XI," says Lanson,[37] "was too *bourgeois,* too sensible, too positive, to fall in line with such nonsense. But after him, . . . The young Duchess Anne . . . attracted from all corners of the kingdom all the *grands, moyens, petits et tout petits rhétoriqueurs.* They infested the court of Charles VIII, then that of Louis XII, and in all ranks, and from all the provinces, they sprang up, each more devoid of sense and more extravagant in form than the other. The most endurable are those who have the least genius: their platitude condemns them to being intelligible, or almost so. . . ."

From the above, it will be clearly seen that the reorganization of the Gay Science into the College of Rhetoric corresponded precisely in point of time with the universal popularity of the decadent Rhetoricians. Charles VIII, while passing out of a dark gallery at the castle of Amboise, in April, 1498, struck his head against the top of a doorway so violently that he died a few hours afterwards. With him the direct line of Valois kings became extinct. He was succeeded by Louis, Duke of Orleans, who ascended the throne as Louis XII. The last record that has been preserved of the Con-

[37] Lanson, *op. cit.,* 181–183.

sistory of Gay Science is of 1498, the year of the death of Charles VIII. During the succeeding reign, the College of Rhetoric came into existence. Founded under a strongly orthodox religious influence, guided by the rules laid down in the *Leys d'Amors,* skilled in the composition of intricate rhymes and metrical devices, it can be easily seen that the cultivation of the genres in vogue among the Rhetoricians of the north could not have been an abrupt transition. At the close of the fifteenth century the reputation of Jean Molinet was at its height. In 1493 he had published his *Art et Science de Rhétorique.*[38] The very title of his book suggests that the reorganized society had derived its name from it. That it did derive it from Molinet's book is all the more probable when we consider that the *Fins Amants* had depended since 1356 upon the work of Guilhem Molinier, and that this guide to the composition of poetry had to be of necessity discarded when the change was made. Perhaps, in considering the reorganization of the Gay Science, the mainteneurs had adopted Molinet's book as the new guide for the poets, and its title for the new name of the society. Then the name Molinet. Is it not suggestive in itself? Molinet and Molinier, if not identical names with variant spelling for north and south France, respectively, are at least enough alike to have attracted the attention of the mainteneurs, and especially so, as Molinet, a prominent ecclesiastic, was the reigning poet of the northern school. So it is in all probability the Burgundian school of poets that we must regard as the direct inspiration of the poets of Toulouse after the decay of their own poetry. This view is further borne out by examining the products of the poets of Toulouse in the early sixteenth century. Although it is not until 1539 that any of the poems of the College of the Art and Science of Rhetoric are transcribed on the pages of the *Livre Rouge,* information is not entirely lacking as to the character of the poems composed prior to that date for the annual contests. From the meager indications afforded by the *Livre Rouge,* we know that the *ballade* had come into use by 1513, and that it held sway until 1540. As has already been shown, the *ballade* was the favorite form of the poets of north France. While it is true that no poems bearing the name *ballade* have come down from the period of the

[38] For long ascribed to Henri de Croy.

Gay Science, there is in fact one poem of this genre which has been preserved under the name of *letra d'amors,* for which a poet by the name of Janilhac was awarded a prize in 1471. Janilhac was a Parisian and a student in the University of Toulouse. His poem was written in the native *langue d'oc,* and was awarded the prize, not, although so stated, because he could write in the native idiom, but because by writing in it he conformed to one of the established regulations of the Gay Science. One of the cardinal rules laid down in the early history of the society was that the poets should compose in the language native to Toulouse. If Janilhac conformed to the rules with respect to language, he did not meet the requirements with respect to form. The *ballade* was not an accepted form of the Gay Science, but the prize bestowed was a special one known as the *joya extraordinaria,* and the contest was not one held at the regular time (1–3 of May), but at Pentecost. Special prizes were sometimes awarded in response to a *citatio* or summons at other than the regular contests. On such occasions the mainteneurs sent out a letter in verse beginning: "De mandement de Messenhos Chancelier he Mantenidos (By order of the chancellor and the mainteneurs)" in which they advertised a contest at a given date, and assigned a refrain upon which the poets should compose their verses. Such a letter was sent out in August, 1468, inviting "all experts in the art of Rhetoric, vulgarly called the *Gay Saber,*"

> "A totz spertz en l'art de Rectorica
> Ha vulguarment apelat Saber Guay,"

to appear the next Sunday with poems constructed to the refrain: *Al cor me fier la Pera del enguoys* ("the choke-pear strikes me to the heart"), for which the winner should receive a branch *d'argent,* presumably a silver olive branch. Such contests were held in various places, and not confined to the town hall, as was the case with the regular contests.

The above quotation is the earliest reference to the poetry of the Floral Games as the Art of Rhetoric, "vulgarly called the *Saber Guay.*" From this reference and from Janilhac's *ballade,* we know the precise moment at which the influence of north France began to invade the Consistory of Gay Science. The transition,

therefore, from the Gay Science to Rhetoric was a gradual one, covering a period of not less than forty or fifty years. In the absence of concrete documents it is impossible to assert positively that the College of the Art and Science of Rhetoric replaced Guilhem Molinier and his *Leys d'Amors* by Jean Molinet and his *Art et Science de Rhétorique,* but it is quite certain that the reorganized society was very strongly under the influence of the reigning school of poetry of north France. When once the influence of the Rhetoricians had entered, it was felt until the society was again reorganized in 1694 as the Academy of the Floral Games. The influence of the Rhetoricians may be divided into three periods: that of the *ballade,* that of the *chant royal,* modified gradually by the general ideas of the Renaissance and to a certain extent by the Pléiade; and lastly, the period when the *chant royal* undergoes very strongly the influence of the Pléiade, both in its content and in its language. The first of these extends from 1513 to 1540; the second from 1540 until the end of the century; and the third from that time until 1694. This division is made on the basis of the poems recorded in the *Livre Rouge* for which prizes were awarded. From the middle of the sixteenth century the poets were strongly swayed by the general ideas of the Renaissance and while the influence of the Pléiade was comparatively small before the close of the century, it was immediately felt by the poets at Toulouse. As has been previously stated, it is almost certain that Bernard de Poey read *odes* at the meeting of 1551. In this same year, not only he, but Pierre du Cèdre as well, composed *sonnets,* and in 1554 a *sonnet* was inserted in the *Livre Rouge* along with a winning *chant royal.* In 1555, Pierre de Ronsard was awarded an honorary prize by the mainteneurs. That the influence of the Pléiade on the poems for which prizes were awarded was not at once felt, was due to the conventional restrictions placed upon the competing poets.

The chief representatives of the period before 1540 were Blaise d'Auriol and Gracien du Pont.[39] Each of them occupied a prominent place at Toulouse in an official capacity and as writers. The former became chancellor of the university and was the author of a work which enjoyed a wide popularity, known as *La Chasse et*

[39] See part iii for fuller account of both.

le départ d'amour, in part a plagiarism of Charles d'Orléans and partly his own composition. He was the first native of Toulouse to compose poetry in French. He was a wretched poet, but no worse than a horde of Rhetorician poets of north France who were his contemporaries. The *Livre Rouge* shows that he was a *maître* (master) of the Floral Games in 1513, after having won all three of the prizes. He was a mainteneur from about 1522 until 1540. Gracien du Pont was the lieutenant of the seneschalty at Toulouse and mainteneur of the Floral Games from 153– to 1545. He was the author of a work called *Les Controverses des sexes Masculin et Femenin,* in which he dealt disparagingly with women. Such works had been common among the Rhetoricians of north France since the days of Jean de Meung. He was also the author of an *Art and Science of Rhetoric* (*Art et Science de Rhetorique metrifiee*), in which "he explained every conceivable form of rhythmical puerility."[40] This work, published at Toulouse in 1539, was based upon the book of Pierre Fabri,[41] published at Rouen in 1522, which in its turn was composed entirely in accord with the practice of the Rhetoricians.[42]

The Poetry of the Livre Rouge.

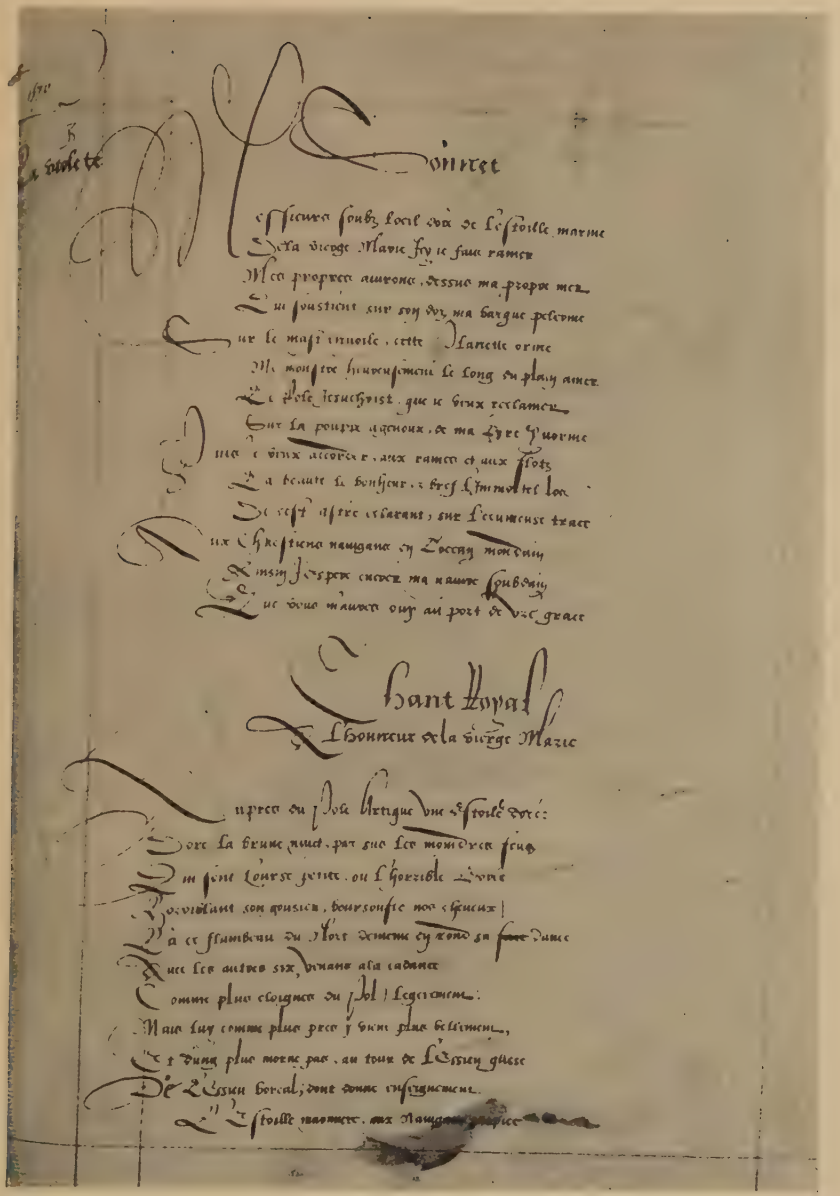
While winning poems were not transcribed in the *Livre Rouge* before 1539, there is sufficient information in the records to enable us to determine the nature of them. In 1513, Hugues Roguier won the *Gauch* (*Souci*) or Marigold for a ballade in the *langue d'oc.* This seems to have been the last time that a prize was awarded for a poem in the native language.[43] The Violet was awarded to a stu-

[40] Tilley: *The Literature of the French Renaissance,* vol. i, p. 69. See also, Cohen: *The Ballade,* Columbia University Press, New York, 1915.

[41] For the influence of Guilhem Molinier's *Leys d'Amors* on the book of Gracien du Pont, see Joseph Anglade's edition of the *Leys d'Amors,* tome 4, p. 119. Toulouse, 1920.

[42] The title of Fabri's book is: *Le grand et vray art de pleine Rhetorique.* It was reprinted at Rouen in two vols. in 1889–1890, with notes by A. Heron, for the Société des bibliophiles normands. It was composed, no doubt, under the inspiration of the Puy of Rouen. Since Gracien du Pont's book at Toulouse was based mainly on this work, and no doubt had some influence on the southern poets, there is probably found here a connecting link between the two societies.

[43] While no poems composed in the language of the South were awarded prizes during the period covered by the *Livre Rouge* (1513–1641), it was not



Facsimile of folio 252 r° of the Livre Rouge (Vol. I.); date 1570. Bibliothèque des Jeux Floraux de Toulouse.

dent, Jacques Sapientis, for a *ballade unisonant et entrelassée,* upon the *blason* of the counts of Toulouse. From 1514 to 1518, the records are wanting. In 1519, Jean de Villeneuve was awarded the Marigold for an *oraison de Notre Dame* in the form of a *ballade.* Jehan de Vignes, a priest, won the Eglantine for a *ballade unisonante* in praise of Saint Sebastian; and the Violet was won by Jehan Pérot student, for a *ballade* on the university of Toulouse. The refrain of his poem,

"Le dieu Phœbus est venu d'Ylion,"

shows a fondness for parading classical names, one of the marked characteristics of the Rhetoricians. The next record (1535) is taken up with a quarrel between the mainteneurs and the capitouls[44] over the election of a chancellor, and no mention is made of the contest. The next is that of 1539, the time when the winning poems began to be inscribed in the *Livre Rouge.* Of the two poems recorded, one is a *chant royal* by Pierre Trassabot, a native of Toulouse who acquired considerable reputation as a musician, painter and sculptor. This is the first *chant royal* of which there is any record, and may have been the first for which a prize was awarded in the Floral Games. The theme, that life is a constant struggle, is commonplace, and the refrain reflects the Rhetoricians' liking for sententious or proverbial sayings:[45]

"Que vye humaine a icy tousjours guerre."

The poet injects into his composition a certain imagery and portrays faithfully enough the life of the soldier of his day as well as the longing for peace and the hopes aroused over the prospect of it; the disillusionment that comes as other ills spring up to take the place of war; the cold, the heat, the storms, and all the things that beset man on his journey through this world.

long after this period that Grégoire de Barutel in 1651 won the Eglantine for a *chant royal* composed in the Gascon dialect (see p. 12). This was no doubt an exceptional case. The practice of awarding prizes for poems in Provençal was revived only in the later nineteenth century, and at present they have their regular place in the annual competition for prizes.

[44] The capitouls, or city fathers, participated in the Floral Games as representatives of the city, which furnished the funds to pay for the annual prizes.

[45] "La façon dont les rhétoriqueurs concevaient la morale les conduisait nécessairement a l'exprimer en proverbes. . . ."—Henry Guy: *op. cit.,* p. 68.

The ballade for which Hector du Pertuiz won the Violet shows the influence of the *Roman de la Rose* in its personification of Melancholy, War, Death, etc.

"Fuyez chagrin, chassez mélancolye,"

says the poet, as he proceeds with a banal pæan of praise in honor of his sovereign, whom it would be impossible to recognize if we did not know that Francis I was reigning at the time.

With 1540, begins the sway of the *chant royal.* In that year all of the winning poems were of this genre, and, as has already been stated, with few exceptions the *chant royal* will hold undisputed sway in the Floral Games until the end of the seventeenth century. Throughout the sixteenth century, the content and spirit of the winning poems will be determined by the models of the Rhetoricians. Not that no influence will be exerted by the new spirit of the Renaissance as represented by the Pléiade, but that this influence is comparatively limited before the seventeenth century. In the seventeenth century, Pléiade influences will alter profoundly the content and spirit of many of the winning poems, but the form remains and the general conception of the *chant royal* lingers. In the sixteenth century it is the general ideas of the Renaissance, especially philosophy and science that attract the young poets, and their influence overshadows that of the Pléiade. Aside from the thought, the greatest innovations of the sixteenth century are, perhaps, the change from the verse of *ten* syllables to the *alexandrin* (in 1556), and the introduction of certain words and turns of expression characteristic of the Pléiade. In their language the poets of the Floral Games are not imitators of the effete Rhetoricians. French is a foreign language to many of them, and their works display the crudeness that accompanies the effort to write in a foreign tongue, but they have a respect for the language that was not possessed by the later Rhetoricians. Their attempts to express in French abstract and philosophical ideas which they have but poorly digested, often leads them into absurd turns of expression and grotesque figures of speech, but one is impressed by the seriousness with which the poets approach their task. With the progress of time, the language of the poets improves, and in the winning poems of the seventeenth century we see a

gradual approach toward perfection; many of the poems containing lines and passages worthy of the great poets.

At the hands of the poets of the Floral Games, the *chant royal* becomes an instrument for the portrayal of allegory to the extent that the *envoi* loses its name and is succeeded by the word *allégorie.* Had the allegorical features of the poems been introduced in a skilful and natural manner, the poems that have been preserved in the *Livre Rouge* might stand as monuments of allegorical literature. But the reader after wading through five strophes in which are paraded names belonging to ancient mythology is suddenly startled, when he reaches the *envoi* or *allégorie,* to discover that Jupiter is God, that Apollo is Jesus, and that Daphne is the Virgin Mary. As was the case with their models, the poets of Toulouse had an artificial conception of allegory. Whatever of vitality there had been in the allegorical treatment of literary themes had long since passed away. For the poets of Toulouse, antiquity presents the same sort of fascination that it did for their models of the north; nor do the former understand the ancient world any better than the latter. The difference between the Rhetoricians and the Pléiade is that while the former knew *about* antiquity, the latter *knew* it. Like the Rhetoricians, the poets of the Floral Games have a fondness for parading their knowledge. Under their pens long enumerations are made of the heroes of antiquity: heroes and heroines of mythology, great writers, characters from history. The occult sciences, astrology and alchemy, have an irresistible charm. Abstruse questions of philosophy attract these student poets as the flame does the moth. The burning questions of the times hardly disturb them at all. But for an occasional poem on the reigning sovereign or the dauphin, there is scarcely any portrayal of the times in approximately three hundred *chants royaux* recorded in the *Livre Rouge,* covering a period of a hundred years, the period which witnessed the struggles of humanism and the Reformation, and in the political realm the growth of France into an absolute monarchy under the strong hand of Richelieu.

A survey of a few of the poems contained in the *Livre Rouge* will furnish the key to the contents as a whole. By 1540, as already stated, all of the winning poems were *chants royaux.* In that year

a young poet, Corrière, celebrates a shepherd guarding his flocks in a "sumptuous valley." In the *envoi* we are told that the shepherd is God, the flock is human nature, the lamb is the Saviour, and the sheep, the Virgin. Claude Terlon[46] depicts the passion of our Lord. Apollo is Jesus, Daphne is his body born in chastity. Jehan Rus, of Bordeaux, celebrates "l'arbre passant toute œuvre naturelle." This marvellous tree, situated "towards Greece," has a powerful attraction:

> De toutes partz, pour ce boys à grand presse
> Vous eussiez veu gens venir et aller.[47]

The Grand Turk appears to mar the perfect bliss and happiness of the scene. The tree is Jesus, the Grand Turk is the Devil.

> Qui fist mourir (au moings comme il pensoit)
> *L'arbre passant toute œuvre naturelle.*

In 1541, Pierre du Cèdre, who was to play a leading part as a Huguenot in the religious troubles at Toulouse in the second half of the century, celebrated the excellence of Poetry in crude verses in which he enumerated a list of names from the Bible and from Greek and Roman antiquity: Moses, David, Orpheus, Museus, the Sybil, Lynus, Plato, Homer, Virgil, and Ovid, concluding his argument with the refrain:

> "Laurier sans feuille et sans loz bon poète."

Mercadier de Besse wrestles with the "Cognition de la chose divine." In 1543 Pierre Pascal introduces us to another wonderful tree, this time the marvellous tree is "towards Judea," and is a tree

> "Que[48] l'homme rend à jamais bien heureux."

In 1544, Étienne Forcatel,[49] who later was selected as professor of

[46] Also spelled = Trellon.

[47] Some of the poems cited have been previously printed, but many are here published for the first time.

[48] Should be *qui*.

[49] In the *Livre Rouge*, he signs his name thus, but it has usually appeared in print as *Forcadel*.

[50] Known as the Father of Modern Law.

law in the university for the chair for which Cujas[50] had entered into competition, began an unintelligible philosophical poem:

> "Démagorgon, le grand père des dieux,
> Sortit du creux de l'abisme du monde. . . ."

In 1548, Anthoine Noguier, who wrote in Latin a well known history of Toulouse is obsessed with the idea of primal causes, the remoteness of which he seeks to impress upon the reader by the repetition of the word "avant:"

> "Avant le poix, avant nombre et mesure,
> Avant Chaos et, son encombrement,
> Avant le cours de Phœbus qui mesure
> Les chaudz et froidz sentiers obliquement,
> Avant que fust du monde la machine,
> Avant la mer et son ample piscine,
> Avant que feust le Centre mesuré,
> L'idée estoit sans fin nulle et naissance
> Et contenoit en son sein azuré
> *Ung tout en trois d'une mesmes essence.*"

From the *allégorie* we learn that the "tout en trois" is the Trinity.

In 1549, Hélie Boyresse's vision is dazzled by a green tree, "pleasant and delectable;" from the refrain we learn that it is

> "La verte olyve en ce monde honnorée."

and from the Envoi, the son of God "fruict sortant de la pucelle." In the same year Mathieu de Chalvet, afterwards first president of the parlement of Toulouse, and translator of Seneca, carried his audience into a "cloz delicieulx" to witness

> "Le seul Phénix, se tuant pour renaistre."

In 1550, Jehan de Flavyn has an eye single to

> "Le poinct parfaict dont deppend tout le monde."

In 1551, Pierre de Sainct Aignan celebrates

> "La nef flottant pour le salut du monde."

In 1554, an honorary prize was awarded to Pierre de Ronsard,[51] and for the first time a *sonnet* appeared upon the records of the *Livre Rouge,* not as a winning poem, but accompanying a *ballade,* for which Sanxon de la Croix, *escollier,* was awarded the Violet. Since the *ballade* had practically ceased to be a form of the Floral Games, we are led to suspect that the judges were influenced in their decision by the *sonnet*:

"Chantez, mes vers, entonnez un tel son
Que vous puissiez plaire aux doctes oreilles,
Et toy, mon luth, fredonne les merveilles
De l'Éternel, en ta doulce chanson.

Tu as apriz de Phébus ta leçon,
Ces chantz secretz et choses nonpareilles
Et pourquoy donc est-ce que tu sommeilles,
Te congnoissant des Muses nourrisson?

Fay moy parler tes résonnantes cordes
Le loz divin que sur elles accordes,
Et charge-moy sur tes chansons de miel,

Afin qu'estant sur leur eschigne forte,
Je puisse ung jour aller frapper la porte
Du temple sainct qu'ont les Muses au ciel."

A few sonnets aside, the first sustained breath of the Renaissance is to be found in a hymn on the Nativity, a poem of almost a hundred lines in *alexandrins,* which Loys du Pin inserted, along with a conventional *chant royal,* in 1569:

"Sus! laissés voz brebis et voz troupeaulx de bestes;
Accourés tous ensemble aveques voz musètes,
Prenez, voz chalumeaux et d'un son gracieux
Chantés et rechantés chascun à qui mieulx mieulx,
Car c'est à ceste nuict que le filz du grand père
Est sorty des liens du ventre de sa mère.
Sus donc! despechés vous, en Bethléem courés,
Où sur ung peu de foin l'enfant vous troeuverés."

The poets of the Floral Games of the sixteenth century have a

[51] An honorary prize was awarded to Baïf in 1586.

fondness for miraculous trees and paradisiacal gardens. François de Chalvet succeeds in giving an atmosphere of actuality to such threadbare themes when he introduces us to

"Le jardin fleurissant sur les bordz de Garonne."

The "chaste pucelle" who graces it with her presence is Clémence Ysaure, "les grand dieux" are the capitouls, and the flowers that adorn it are the Violet, Eglantine and Marigold of the Floral Games. The poem is grotesque; but perhaps the most sublimely ridiculous poem in the whole collection is one by which the same writer won his third prize, the Eglantine, in 1581. The refrain indicates the nature of the poem:

"L'œuvre qui se parfaict dans le vase alchimique."

The *œuvre* is the philosophical egg,

"C'est l'œuf philosophal dans lequel on proiète
Durant trois mois triplés nostre pierre secrète."

In 1577, Jehan Sevestre, a Parisian, presented a *chant royal* and won the Eglantine. His poem in honor of the holy and sacred Trinity, the poet calls a *chant royal monocole, dédocastrophe, intercalaire, acrostiche.* He calls the first strophe *Proode,* the second *Strophe,* the third *Mésode,* the fourth *Antistrophe,* the fifth *Epode,* and the *envoi, Epirrhème.* Thus, in this poem are blended ill-digested ideas of the Rhetoricians and the Pléïade. For all the poet's pretensions, the poem does not differ from the other *chants royaux* except that it is an acrostic and instead of being *monocle,* perfectly homogeneous, as the author claims, is perhaps more incoherent than the majority of the poems contained in the *Livre Rouge.* The first letters of the lines of the first strophe spell the poet's name. Those of the second strophe tell that he is "Parisien," and the first lines of the remaining strophes announce the subject of the poem: "En l'honneur de la saincte et sacrée Trinité." The first strophe illustrates sufficiently the *chant royal* as a whole:

"*J*e chanteray l'honneur souverain de nature,
*A*près Pythagoras, montant dessus les cieux,
N'ayant encore aucun frayé cest' adventure,

*S*ur le plus hault esprit j'esleveray mes yeux.
*E*n l'unité on voit l'origine première
*V*n principe comun de toute la matière
*E*t de la forme ornant cest univers parfaict;
*T*oute loy tend à un, ainsi qu'un a tout faict,
*R*etourne tout en un, començant un en nombre
*E*t finist on en un, car tout faict et refaict
L'unité divisant et unissant tout nombre."

The poet's belief in the virtue of numbers is a reminiscence of the Pythagorean philosophy which was reduced by the schoolmen of the middle ages to abstract formulas. To certain numbers, such as 1, 3, 4, 5, 9, and 10, marvellous powers or properties were attributed, From the time of Dhuoda, who wrote in Latin in the ninth century, to go back no further, down through the middle ages, the science of numbers had attracted writers. Frequently the poets of the Floral Games enveloped their poems in the mystery and allegory of numbers.

"Le trois, nombre sacré, moulle de toute essence."

"Le rond qui du quadrangle est le centre immobile."

"Les trois angles esgaulx du parfait isoplure."

"Le rond qui de trois ronds est le centre immobile."

Excursions into physics, chemistry, or medicine, give such lines as:

"L'aymant qui donne vie au métal insensible."

"L'eau fort qui des métaux divise la substance."

"Le simple distillé dans le bain de Marie."

"Le corail destruisant le charme des sorcières."

"Les effets merveilleux de l'eau de jalousie."

In their wide interest in knowledge, in their boldness in approaching the most abstruse questions of philosophy, astrology, alchemy, astronomy, physics, medicine, chemistry, or what not, the poets of the second half of the sixteenth century at Toulouse are of the Renaissance. They represent the natural development of the tenden-

cies of the Rhetoricians modified by the new spirit. By comparing them with the Pléiade, it is easy to see what a profound revolution was worked in French poetry by Du Bellay, Ronsard, Desportes, and other members of the group. The following lines, most of them refrains, will give some notion of the variety of the topics which these riders of an unruly Pegasus undertook to treat:[52]

1552. "La ronde sphère à son centre fondée."
1553. "Le petit monde estant encor à naistre."
1554. "Les deux liqueurs arrosans tout le monde."
1558. "L'esprit universel infuz en ce bas monde."
1559. "La pure et simple forme exempte de nature."
1560. "Les formes qui sans forme ont formé la machine."
1561. "L'astre qui plus reluict au zodiaque oblique."
1562. "L'édifice immortel de la divine essence."
1564. "L'eschelle qui conjoinct la terre avec les cieux."
"La lune du soleil empruntant la lumiere."
1567. "La clarté flamboiant dans la lampe éternelle."
1569. "L'accord entretenant le ciel, la terre et l'onde."
1570. "L'estoille marinière aux navigans propice."
1573. "La matière aspirant à la forme parfaicte."
1573. "L'âme vivifiant ce que le ciel enserre."
1577. "L'estoile par l'escler du soleil redorée."
1579. "Les trois poinctz rapportés en la ligne écliptique."
1581. "L'œuvre qui se parfaict dans le vase alchimique."
1584. "Les discors accordés d'éternelle discorde."
1586. "Le cristal honorant la fontaine de vie."
1586. "Le luth qui remplist tout d'une saincte harmonie."
1589. "Le triangle accompli de trois lignes esgalles."
"Astrologue subtil, qui as la cognoissance,
De maintz évenements que tu vas prédisant."
1590. "Le charme qui nous lie à l'amour éternelle."
1591. "Je suis grand alchimiste et qui de la nature
Recherche curieux les plus rares secretz."
1593. "L'esprit, l'âme et le cors de la pierre alchimique."
1596. "La navire bruslée au miroir d'Archimède."

[52] Monsieur François de Gélis, mainteneur of the Floral Games, has recently written an article upon the humanistic tendencies of the poets of the Floral Games. See *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de Toulouse,* 1919: *Les Poètes humanistes des Jeux Floraux.*

1598. "Du bel astre argenté la lumière éclipsée."
1600. "La Colure marquant l'un et l'autre solstice."
1602. "Les sept astres puyssants qui esclairent le monde."
1604. "La verge descouvrant les richesses du monde."
1604. "Les douze astres bornans du soleil la carrière."
1613. "Le diamant brizé par ung coup de tonnerre."
1614. "Le ruisseau qui résoult les pierres endurcies."
1615. "Le néant devenu de l'infini capable."

Let it be recalled that the purpose of the poems, as reiterated again and again in the pages of the *Livre Rouge,* was to glorify God, the Virgin, and the saints. The effect of the Rhetorician influence and of the paganizing influence of the Renaissance was to deflect the poems from the stated purpose. The semblance of a religious import or intention was preserved by explaining in the *envoi* or *allégorie* that the things treated in the poem were symbolical, and had some religious or moral significance which the poet proceeds to indicate.

The fondness for the occult sciences on the part of the Toulouse poets was probably due to the impetus which they had received in France at the opening of the century. Cornelius Agrippa had lived for some time in Lyons. Other mediaeval scientists were there also, as for example, Simon de Pharès, whom Charles VIII visited in 1495, and an Italian who boasted of transmuting baser metals into gold. The celebrated Nostradamus lived in Provence in the earlier sixteenth century, and Julius Caesar Scaliger lived at Agen, not far from Toulouse.[53]

While influences of the Pléiade are not entirely wanting in the poems of the Floral Games in the sixteenth century, it is not until the beginning of the seventeenth that the Pléiade influence makes a sufficient impression to materially improve the poetic quality of the chant royal. In 1601, Paul du May, a young poet of Toulouse, won the Eglantine for a poem which shows a wide departure from the preceding poets.

"C'estoit en la saison que l'aisle peinturée
De Zéphir esvantoit maint fleuron gracieux,
Dont le nouveau printemps rend sa flore pourprée,

[53] For a good account of Scaliger, see Christie, *Étienne Dolet.*

Descouvrant cest esmail qui décore les cieux,
Quand je vis ces thrésors dont la vermeille aurore
A la pointe du jour son visaige redore.
Et le tige amoureux du soucy blondissant
Qui baisoit le beau tainct de l'œilhet rougissant;
Admirant la beauté de sa fleur nompareille
Le soleil entr'ouvrist mes yeux esblouissant
Les lis d'or embrassans la fleur de lis vermeille."

This poem, on the marriage of Henry IV to Marie de Médicis and the arms or *blasons* of the two families, is conceived more nearly in the manner of the Pléiade than any of the poems, perhaps, that had preceded it. In this same year, a *sonnet* was inserted in the *Livre Rouge,* which is of interest as showing the influence of Desportes:

"Et quoi, mon cher souci, serez-vous toujours telle?
Aimez-vous toujours à me faire mourir?
Ha! que le Ciel fist mal de vous former si belle
Et de tant de beaux dons vostre esprit favorir!

Mais bien, si tant vous plaist, une mort bien cruelle
Bornera mes tourmens, sans guères plus souffrir,
Puisque par trait de temps mon service fidelle
N'a sçu de vos beaux yeux la rigueur amoindrir!

Ainsi parloit Philon, aiant l'âme blessée
Des beaux yeux ennemis de sa belle Dircée,
Trop beaux et trop cruelz à ses contentemens.

Mais enfin ce berger, après tant de souffrances,
Comme un ruzé soldat, il a donné dedans,
Aiant par son discours abbattu les déffences."

In 1618, Jean Allard, of Mirapoix, was awarded the Eglantine for a *chant royal,* "à l'imitation des tableaux de Philostrate." This poem presents a curious blending of pagan sensuality and Christian morality:

"Voyés son sein de neige où mesmes dans la glace
Amour nourrit ses feux et garde son flambeau;
Sur ces deux petits monts quelquefois il prend place

Et ressemble Apollon sur le double coupeau.
Son col dessur l'yvoire emporte l'avantage,
Mais l'art de la nature est plus grand au visage,
Les lys y sont meslés d'un beau teint de pudeur,
La rose est sur sa bouche, au dedans son odeur,
Et Zéphire amoureux d'une si doulce haleine,
Baise sans estre veu, tout pasmé de douceur
Susanne qui se lave au bord de la fontaine.

In the *reddition de l'allégorie* we learn that Suzanne is the soul of the sinner.

The poem which is perhaps the best sustained throughout and which presents the most vivid imagery is that of Bernard d'Aliès, of Toulouse, Doctor of Theology, for which the Violet was awarded in 1623:

CHANT ROYAL.

POUR UNE DESCRIPTION D'UN POURTRAIT DE SAINCTE MAGDELAINE.

Quel est ce beau pourtrait? Seroit-ce Magdelene?
Mais pourquoy les couleurs l'ont peinte sans couleur?
Elle qui parloit tant, va souspirant à peine,
Elle qui rioit tant est pleine de doleur.
Ses yeux qui les espritz rengeoient sous le servage,
S'abaissent soubs la Croix et luy rendent homage.
Ses mains, filles d'honeur, qui soignent sa beauté,
En conspirent la perte avec sa cruaulté.
Elle ravissoit tout, elle est touste ravie.
Non, sans doubte, voilà, foulant la vanité,
Magdelene pleurant le printems de sa vie.

Elle est là de son long, sur l'herbe, la mondaine,
Ainsin l'orage abat une nouvelle fleur
Qui rehaussoit l'honneur et le pris d'une plaine,
Et luy couvre son tainct d'un voile de palleur.
Mille amours de ses yeux fuient à vol, à nage,
Les petitz-filz des eaux craignent-ilz le naufrage?
Sur ce front, près des yeux, quelqu'un en est monté,
Dans son sein, sur deux montz, les pleurs en ont porté,

Qui deçà, qui delà, quelque route a suivie,
Abandonant au deuil, en ceste extrémité,
Magdelene pleurant le printems de sa vie.

Ce corail animé par où sort son haleine
Dans la mer de ses pleurs a laissé la rougeur;
Les roses et les lis dont sa face estoit plaine,
N'ont gardé que l'espine en noyant la fraîcheur.
Ses cheveux tout mouillés s'attachent au visage,
Leurs nœuds sont relâchés et leur foible cordage
Où tant et tant de cœurs perdoient la liberté,
Ne les retiennent plus dans la captivité.
Son sexe à sa beauté ne porte plus envie,
De tous ses dous appas les plus dous ont quitté
Magdelene pleurant le printems de sa vie.

Telle se lamentant on pourroit peindre Hélène,
Quand le Grec d'Ilion demeura le vainceur,
Si l'on ne sçavoit pas qu'elle estoit toutte vaine,
Que les pleurs de ses yeux n'estoient pas ceux du cœur!
Mais regardés la nostre avec quel fort courage
Pour l'amour de son Dieu son beau corps elle outrage!
On diroit que son bras n'est jamais arresté,
Qu'un coup à l'autre coup est tousjours adjousté,
Et ny lasse jamais, ny jamais assouvie,
Extrême on voit tousjours, en son austérité,
Magdelene pleurant le printemps de sa vie.

Elle mesle son sang à ses pleurs, l'inhumaine,
Son âme seullement conserve sa blancheur.
Un ruisseau de son sang coule de chasque veine,
Elle veut y noyer son crime et son erreur.
Son Dieu qui pend en croix sur le hault de l'ouvrage,
Semble de son amour lui rendre tesmoignage.
Voyés! elle se veut cacher en son costé
Et son esprit de zelle et d'ardeur transporté,
D'y faire sa demeure à jamais la convie,
Logeant dans le séjour de la félicité
Magdelene pleurant le printemps de sa vie.

REDDITION D'ALLÉGORIE.

Une âme qui cognoist le seigneur yrrité,
Qui demande pardon à sa divinité,
Rendant sa volonté soubs ses lois asservie,
Elle est dans ce pourtrait, cerchant (*sic*) l'éternité
Magdelene pleurant le printemps de sa vie.[54]

Not often do the poets of the College of Rhetoric strike a personal note. There are, however, some cases:

J'estois près d'ung ruisseau dont les ondes sucrées
Arrousoient de nectar les campaignes sacrées.

J'eslève mon esprit vers la voûte azurée,
Pour chanter la bonté des secourables dieux.

Master Bertrand Larade shows himself a true Gascon:[55]

Une nouvelle ardeur eschauffe mon courage
Et l'anime si fort qu'il se treuve emporté
Du dézir violant d'entreprendre ung ouvrage
Qui puisse faire ung jour, honte à l'antiquité.

Infrequently, the poets attempt to portray external nature. The following lines from Catel,[56] 1617, illustrate the ability of the young poets to deal with nature:

Les pluies, les frimas, la glace et la gelée,
La neige et la rigeur d'un hyver ocieux
Aux bruslantes chaleurs esgalement meslée,

[54] *Livre Rouge,* vol. 2, f. 271. Published as a whole for the first time.

[55] Bertrand de Larade was born in 1581 at Montréjeau. He became a poet and made his reputation by *La Muse gasconne* which he composed in 1607. This volume is made up of pastorals, chansons, odes and sonnets. In his *Histoire littéraire des patois,* Dr. Noulet represents him as a poet of little originality but of pleasing naïveté. In 1910 a commemorative tablet was placed upon the house which he had inhabited at Montréjeau, accompanied by eulogies in verse and prose, the most excessive of which characterised him as the Homer of Languedoc. The different editions of his works are: *La Margalide gasconne* (1604), *La Muse gasconne* (1607), *La Muse piranese* (1609). All three were printed at Toulouse by Colomiès.

[56] Charles Catel, whom Dumège affirms, but without furnishing proofs, to have belonged to the family of the well-known historian, author of *Les Comtes de Toulouse.*

Nous donent maintenant ung printemps gracieux,
Le soleil nous aproche et la terre plus belle,
Tapissée de fleurs, met sa robe nouvelle.
Tout rit à ce beau May, les petitz amoreaux
Dansent folastrement sur le bord des ruisseaux.
Et Zéphir qui fléchit soubz leur obéissance
Faict esclorre parmi la verdure des préaux
La fleur qui rend l'odeur au point de sa naissance.

The later Greek influence of the Renaissance which reached its most perfect expression in Racine, was felt at Toulouse. A strophe from a *chant royal* for which Bernard Boyssonade was awarded the Marigold in 1640, will be sufficient to illustrate the poet's ability in handling a Greek subject:

POLIXÈNE.

Ilion n'estoit plus; desjà toute la Grèce
Songe à recevoir ces filz ou ces pères absans,
Lorsque la terre s'ouvre au milieu de la presse;
On oit de bruits confus et de cris languissans;
Achille en sort et dit: "Race lâche et maudite,
"S'il te souvient encor de mon peu de mérite,
"Que Polixene meure! En cela seullement
"Rends un juste devoir à mon ressentiment.
"Elle verra mon sang pour le sang de Troïle,
"Dois-je pas veoir aussy, pour mon soulagement,
"Polixene immolée au sépulchre d'Achille?"

The *Livre Rouge* contains several poems of more or less historical interest. Among them is one on the crowning of Louis XIII at Rheims:[57]

Les François, dans l'excès d'une joye incroiable,
Alumoint mille feus par touts les carrefours;
On n'oyoit dedans Reyms qu'un meslange agréable
De leurs chantz d'alégresse et du son des tambours;
Le pavé parsemé d'une moisson fleurie
Paroissoit soubs leurs pas une belle prairie;
Un ciel de drap, tendu pour la solempnité,

[57] *Livre Rouge*, vol. 2, f. 325, v°. Hitherto unpublished.

Déroboit à leurs yeux le ciel plain de clarté,
D'où pour nouveau subject de leur resjouissance
Venoint en ce moment à leur prince indompté
Les lys donnés du ciel au sceptre de la France.

Le devant des maisons, à ce jour mémorable,
Effaçoit tout l'éclat des plus superbes Cours,
Il ne paroissoit plus à soy mesme semblable,
Revestu de drap d'or, de pourpre et de velours;
Les festons, les tableaux et la tapisserie
Changeoient la moindre rue en riche galerie,
Chaque place sembloit un palais enchanté
Tant elle avoit de pompe et de diversité,
Lorsque, pour acomplir ceste magnificence
On vit reluire en l'air, plain de sérénité,
Les lys donnés du ciel au sceptre de la France.

Louis sortoit alors de ce temple admirable
Où son cœur abjura ses dieux foibles et sourds
Pour celuy qu'il avoit épreuvé secourable,
Sy tost qu'à sa puissance il avoit eu recours;
Ses précieux habits brilhoient de broderie,
Où ce mêloit la perle avec la pierrerie;
Son front d'une charmante et douce gravité
Mettoit d'accord l'amour avec la majesté,
Et ne faloit que veoir son aymable présence
Pour croire que le prince avoit bien mérité
Les lys donnés du ciel au sceptre de la France.

Aussy veoit-il soudain un héraud favorable
Qui luy porte d'en haut ce visible secours;
Il est surpris de veoir son visage adorable
Qui ternit les appas du plus beau des amours,
Son maintien le ravit, où, sans affeterie,
Avecque la douceur la beauté ce marie;
Il admire ces yeux, dont la vivacité
Fait veoir quelque rayon de la divinité,
Et commence à porter plus haut son espérance
Despuis qu'entre ses mains ont si bien éclaté
Les lys donnés du ciel au sceptre de la France.

Grand Dieu, s'écrie alors ce prince incomparable,
N'estoit-ce pas asses, pour bien heurer mes jours,
D'avoir ceste liqueur, à jamais perdurable,
Qui doit de nos bonheurs éterniser le cours,
Sy pour mieux tesmoigner que ma chère patrie
Sur tous autres pais de ton cœur est chérie,
Tu n'usses le ciel mesmes en nos mains transporté,
Et des trois astres d'or son azur marqueté.
Continue enve(r)s nous, Seigneur, ta bienveillance,
Et défens à jamais, de toute adversité,
Les lys donnés du ciel au sceptre de la France.

Allégorie.

Mon Roy, qui de nos maux a la source tarie,
Est ce brave Louis, chassant l'idolâtrie,
Et le grand Richelieu, dont la fidélité
Maintient les trois estats sous son authorité
Et par qui son Empire est mis en asseurance,
Est cet ange qui porte en toute sureté
Les lys donnés du Ciel au sceptre de la France.

Jean Doujat (1634).[58]

In 1639 appeared a *chant royal* by a poet named Clarac in honor of the birth of the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XIV.[59] The author wrote also a comedy published at Lyons, entitled: *Arlequin ou Grapignan gascou.* Following is an extract of the poem:

" L'on voit autour de luy que la terre féconde
Ne laisse jamais rien ny sécher ni pourrir.
Une source de lait l'arrouse de son onde,
Dont le cours immortel ne peut jamais tarir.
Là le monde semble entre en sa première enfance,
Et le plaisir s'y prend avec tant d'innocence

[58] Jean Doujat, born 1606—died 1688, became a member of the French Academy in 1650. He was professor of canon and civil law in the university of Toulouse. It is said that he spoke nearly all the languages known, both ancient and modern. He collected a large library of works on theology, history and philology. He was the author of a well known *Dictionnaire de la langue toulousaine.* Before his death he was appointed historiographer to the king. In 1634 and 1638 he won the Eglantine and the Violet in the Floral Games.

[59] Born September 5, 1638.

Que les plus médisans n'y peuvent rien forger.
Dans cet heureux climat, Silvie et son berger
Enflammés des ardeurs d'une amour mutuelle,
Contre celles du jour cherchent pour s'ombrager
L'arbre qui rajunit par une ante nouvelle.

" Cet arbre ne craint pas qu'on le coupe ou l'esmonde,
Son bonheur est cy grand qu'il n'a rien à souffrir;
S'il gresle, s'il fait vent, si le tonnerre gronde,
C'est pour grossir les fruitz et les faire meurir.
Par ses propriétés Dieu fait veoir sa puissance,
Il l'a vouleu douer d'une telle excellance
Que mesme en le touchant l'on ce peut alléger
Du plus cruel des maux qui nous viene affliger,
Et ceste qualité qu'il a sy naturelle
Fait souhaiter sans cesse au pais étranger
L'arbre qui rajunit par une ante nouvelle.

" Tout le monde est ravi des biens dont il abonde,
La terre, l'air, le feu, sont faitz pour le nourrir,
Et si l'on veoit ici que l'Océan inonde,
C'est afin que cet arbre y puisse refleurir.
Les cieux lui font tribut et pour recognoissance
Versent en sa faveur leur plus douce influance.
Tous les ans le printems reviend pour l'obliger;
L'esté meurit les fruitz que d'un soin homager
L'automne lui présente en offrande immortelle,
Et l'hiver rigoreux n'oseroit outrager
L'arbre qui rajunit par une ante nouvelle."[60]

Contemporaries of the Pléiade.

Bernard de Poey.

It has already been shown that while the *chant royal* was the sole form for which prizes were awarded, the poets were permitted to read poems of other genres before the judges of the Floral Games. The major part of two, and sometimes three days was spent in listening to the poets read their compositions. The number read or recited by each candidate no doubt depended largely on the

[60] *Livre Rouge*, vol. 2, f. 353, r°.

number that his genius and inclination had led him to compose. In all probability a prize was bestowed frequently for the poet's works as a whole, rather than for a single *chant royal.* The fact that supplementary poems are inserted from time to time in the *Livre Rouge* lends color to this supposition. Since a *sonnet* appears in the *Livre Rouge* in 1554, and since in that same year an honorary prize was awarded to Pierre de Ronsard, we know that the influence of the Pléiade was not long in being felt at Toulouse. As early as 1551, one of the poets of the Floral Games, Bernard de Poey (whose latinized name was " Podius "), of Luc in Béarn, published at Toulouse a small volume of verse entitled: *Odes du Gave fleuve en Bearn, du fleuve de Garonne avec les tristes chans à sa Caranite.* In addition to the odes and *tristes chans,* the volume contained three *sonnets,* one of which was by Pierre du Cèdre, whom we have already mentioned. Du Bellay's *Deffence* and his *Olive* had appeared in 1549, and Ronsard's first volume of *Odes* had appeared in 1550. Among some Latin poems which he also published in 1551, Poey had one addressed to Ronsard. Thus, it is certain that the influence of Du Bellay and Ronsard was immediately felt at Toulouse. Bernard de Poey was a student, probably of medicine,[61] in the decade from 1550 to 1560. From May, 1551, to May, 1660, he won at intervals all three of the prizes of the Floral Games and became a master. All three of his winning *chants royaux* are recorded in the *Livre Rouge,* but none of them shows any marked Pléiade influence. In addition to his volumes of French and Latin poems, Poey translated works on veterinary surgery from the Latin and from the Italian. Guillaume Colletet, who in the seventeenth century prepared in manuscript the lives of several hundred of the French poets,[62] included a sketch of Bernard de Poey. Colletet's

[61] Poey translated works on veterinary surgery; one of his poems was addressed to a physician; he was a friend of Julius Caesar Scaliger, a physician, at Agen, and had relations with a certain Ferrier of Toulouse, doubtless Augier Ferrier, a celebrated physician and afterwards professor of medicine in the university.

[62] The title of Colletet's manuscript collection as given in the catalogue of Antoine-Alexandre Barbier (Paris, 1803) was as follows:

Histoire génerale et particulière des Poètes françois, anciens et modernes, contenant leurs vies, suivant l'ordre chronologique, le jugement de leurs écrits imprimés, et quelques particularites des Cours des Rois et des Reines, des Princes

work remained in manuscript form and was destroyed in the fire which consumed the library of the Louvre during the Commune in 1871. Prior to that date, however, Tamizey de Larroque had culled the lives of the Gascon poets from Colletet's manuscript and had published them in the *Revue de Gascogne.*[63] Colletet is severe in his judgment of Bernard de Poey as a poet. He was comparing him to the great masters. If we consider Poey's odes in contrast with his *chants royaux* and those of others of the *Livre Rouge,* we are impressed at least by their simplicity. The native language of the poet was the Gascon, and at the time at which he composed his poems, the French had not become fully intrenched in the south of France. It was still a foreign language; and it is remarkable that Poey could have composed poems in it at all. That he acquired a good knowledge of French is indicated by a reference of François de Rabutin, who confessed that the Gascon poet had aided him to polish his French diction.[64]

It is almost certain that Bernard de Poey read odes and sonnets at the meeting of the Floral Games in May, 1551. In his *Ode de la Garonne* the poet praises cardinal d'Armagnac, first president of the

et des Princesses sous le règne desquels ils ont fleuri, et qui ont eux-mêmes cultivés la Poésie; avec quelques autres recherches curieuses que peuvent servir à l'histoire; par Guillaume Colletet, de l'Académie françoise.

Colletet lived in the seventeenth century. He had a wide and favorable reputation as a man of letters. His manuscript was one of those attempts common to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of which De Thou's *Histoire de mon temps,* Étienne Pasquier's *Recherches de la France,* La Roche Flavin's *Les treize livres des Parlements de la France,* have come down as good examples. Two important essays of restitution on the manuscript of Colletet have been published: *Le manuscrit des Vies des poètes françois de Guillaume Colletet, brûlé dans l'incendie de la Bibliothèque du Louvre:* essai de restitution par Léopold Pannier (Paris, 1872, in-8, de 19 pp.), and *Contribution à un essai de restitution du manuscrit de G. Colletet, intitulé "Vies des poètes françois," Revue de l'histoire littéraire de la France,* 1895 (2), p. 59.

The mainteneurs of the Floral Games awarded an honorary prize to Colletet in 1651, which according to Lagane, one of the later historians of the Floral Games, was presented because Colletet had dedicated the first edition of his works to the officials of that body. The sketch (according to a statement of Colletet) of Bernard de Poey was written in 1653.

[63] Tome VI, 1865. Auch.

[64] *Commentaires des dernières guerres en la Gaule Belgique, t. vii de la collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France,* par MM. Michaud et Poujoulat.

parlement Mansencal, several of the mainteneurs and masters of the Floral Games, as well as other people of prominence in Toulouse. Lafaille in his *Annales* of Toulouse says that cardinal d'Armagnac made an entry into Toulouse on the eve of the celebration of the Floral Games, May 1–3, 1551; that the capitouls were his hosts and entertained him at a banquet, which was a regular feature of the celebration of the Floral Games; and that he also attended the contest in the Hôtel de Ville.[65] Poey's poem was composed either in anticipation of, or shortly after the visit of the cardinal.

In the beginning of his "Ode to the Garonne," the poet celebrates the beauties of nature in the region of Toulouse:

Les cieux colourez par nature,
Les traits divers de la peinture,
Arbres chargé, champs jaunissants,
L'ouvrage de marqueterie,
Maintes fleurs parmi la prairie
Soulagent les cœurs languissans.
L'oraison enrichit la fable
Comme la viande la table.
Les astres font les cieux luisans.
Divers harnois faut en bataille.
L'émail décore la médaille.

. . . . . .

Sus donc, faisons son bruit durable!
Je luy suis beaucoup redevable,
Ayant receu don precieux
Par l'ordonnance Clementine,
M'a fait présent de l'eglantine,
Me reservant encore mieux.

He eulogizes Toulouse:

Il n'y a lieu qui tant m'agrée
Où mon esprit plus se recrée,

[65] Dumège thinks Lafaille is mistaken because the visit of cardinal d'Armagnac is not mentioned in the *Livre Rouge*. A study of the *Livre Rouge* shows that the secretaries gave no attention in their records to visitors or to the audience at the annual meetings. One could scarcely infer from its pages that the contests were held before the public, or that any one was ever present other than the officers and contestants.

Contemplant les dons planteureux,
L'excellente beauté des femmes,
Sans deshonneur et sans diffames.
Qui s'en approche est très heureux.

In a series of odes, Poey celebrates the beauties of his native Béarn and the rushing, tumbling mountain torrent, the Gave de Pau. The first ode begins as follows:

Descends, ma Muse, du ciel,
Laisse pour un peu la trouppe
Pour m'instiler de ton miel
Et du nectar en ma couppe.

Ou envoye moy ton ange
Qui me conduise en allant
Haut, pour chanter la louange
Du Gave des monts coulant.

Je voy descendre ton âme
Et sens en moy la douceur.
Peu à peu mon cœur s'enflame
D'une amiable fureur.

Des Nymphes j'entends la voix
Qui des chappeaux me façonnent.
Je fourvoye par les bois
Et d'un doux accord me sonnent.

Colletet gives grudging praise to Poey's *Ode du Gave*:

"Et ensuitte il loue selon son genie ce beau fleuve de son pays natal, et quoique ses vers ne soient pas ny fort beau ny fort esclattans si est-ce qu'il a peu se vanter d'avoir esté un des premiers qui nous a donné des odes en nostre langue . . .":

"Gave, de source argentine,
De tout le pays l'honneur,
Qui par ton eaue cristaline
Sur tous fleuves es seigneur,

Gave, flottant doucement,
Aymé des Muses pignées,
Qui preus cours heureusement
Des montagnes Pyrenées,

Gave, que Bearn passant,
Qui arrouses le vignoble,
Plus que voirre reluisant,
Tu es fameux et très noble.

. . . . .

Des biens portes à foison.
Tu nourris truittes dorées,
Parmy tant de beau poisson,
Et lamproyes coulourées,

Le saumon resplendissant
Plus que pierre précieuse
Quand le soleil est luisant
Bondit sur l'onde amoureuse.

Plus fertile es que le Tage
Plus que le Nil planteureux.
Qui près a son héritage,
Celuy n'est-il donc heureux?"

Compare with the above the first strophe of the *chant royal par allégorie, du mistère de l'unité et trinité divine,* for which Bernard de Poey had been awarded the Eglantine:

"En ung verger auquel nature humaine
N'a point accès sans contemplation,
Je fut ravy, duquel en rude vayne
Veulx réciter quelque description.
Moyse fut sur tous élloquent maistre,
En descrivant le Paradis terrestre;
Homère escript par grand dextérité
D'aulcuns vergiers la belle aménité;
Mais on n'a veu, en ce terrestre estaige,
Vergier où soit à perpétuité
L'arbre chargé de fleurs, fruict et ramage."

In 1553 Poey was awarded the Marigold. The first strophe of his poem runs as follows:

"Les Cieulx estoient par cinq cercles haulsez
Jà commençoit la chaleur véhémente

A descouvrir les monts et boys mussez
En esclairant ceste terre pesante.
Les quatre ventz habitoient près des cieulx:
L'Eure, Zéphire et Auster pluvieux,
Et Boreas tremblant, plein de nuysance,
Ayant choisy chacun sa demourance.
L'eau arrousoit la semence terrestre
Des animaulx nourrissant l'affluance,
Le petit monde estant encor à naistre."

While the poem as a whole is an abstract and conventional conception, and of little interest, the poet succeeded better with his second strophe than was usual for the poets in treating philosophical and scientific subjects:

" Six jours avoit le soleil compassez,
La lune ès nuictz, d'humeur estoit coullante,
Ayant les cieux jà six foys repassez,
Rendoient la terre aux bestes verdoyantes,
Le mouvement des cieulx mellodieux
Déclairoit l'œuvre estoc délicieux.
O faict divin d'esternelle substance,
Du monde rond digne circonférence,
Laquelle a pris divinement son aistre,
Pour les vivans certaine résidence,
Le petit monde estant encor à naistre."

In 1560, Bernard de Poey won the Violet, and since he had now won all three of the prizes offered by the Floral Games, he passed to the stage of Master. The first two strophes of his poem are as follows:

Le tout étoit en tout et le tout amassé
N'étoit qu'un lourd monceau, un gros monceau estrange
Sans forme et sans beaulté, nullement compassé.
Le ciel, la terre et l'eau, ce n'estoit que meslange
Le soleil ne donoit à la terre challeur
Le ciel bigarré ne monstroit sa coulleur,
Les estoilles au ciel que nous voyons errantes
Les estoilles des cieulx au monde estincellantes
N'avoyent assubiecté la terre à leurs effaictz

Pour que Démagorgon des causes transparantes
Le tout de tous produict seul parfaict des parfaicts.

Le ciel tout à la fois la terre a surpassé,
Des corps luisans, le corps qui quatre fois se change
A tout cest unyvers à la fois repassé
Et faict en lumyners ung immortel eschange.
Tout à la fois des corps le discord et rigueur
Se sont contrechangés en accord et douceur.
La mer a retiré ses trasses ondoiantes,
La terre aussi ses fleurs et simes verdoyants,
La terre s'est rendue immobile en son sain,
De son sain la semence et le fonct de ses antes (?)
Le tout de tous produict seul parfaict des parfaicts.[66]

DU BARTAS AND GARNIER.

Bernard de Poey and the poets of Toulouse from 1550 to 1565 were the precursors of the greatest figure produced by the Floral Games in the period of the Renaissance, Guillaume Saluste, sieur du Bartas, who was awarded the Violet in 1565.

Du Bartas was born in 1544 at the ancestral castle at Montfort, in Gascony. He became a student of law at Toulouse, and it was while there that he won his prize in the Floral Games, and that, at the request of Margaret of Navarre, he composed his first longer work on a Biblical subject, *Judith,* an epic with appeared in a volume entitled *La Muse chrétienne* (Bordeaux, 1573).[67] This was followed five years later by his principal work, *La Semaine,* an epic on the creation of the world. He was employed by Henry IV of France on various missions to England, Scotland and Denmark, and commanded a troop of horse in Gascony under Marshal Martignan. He was a strong Huguenot, fought at the battle of Ivry, was wounded, and died from the effects of his wounds some time between 1590 and 1592. As a writer, he was the idol of the

[66] Note that this poem is written in *Alexandrins.* The *Alexandrin* had been introduced in 1556.

[67] Tilley (*The Literature of the French Renaissance*) says that *Judith* was written in 1565, the year in which Du Bartas was a contestant in the Floral Games. Did the request of Margaret of Navarre come as a result of his success in the contest? Perhaps *Judith* was written at Toulouse.

Protestants, who put him on a level with Ronsard; and it is said that *La Semaine* passed through more than thirty editions in six years. The religious tone of the work made it a great favorite in England, where the author was called "the divine Du Bartas." To his translation of Du Bellay's *Antiquitez de Rome,* Edmund Spenser added a sonnet of praise in which he coupled the name of Du Bartas with that of Du Bellay. Ben Jonson spoke flatteringly of him, and James VI of Scotland tried his "prentice hand" at translating his poem *Uranie,* which compliment Du Bartas returned by translating the king's poem on the battle of Lepanto into French. In 1584, he began the publication of the *Seconde Semaine.* His aim in continuing his earlier effort was to create a great epic which should stretch from the story of the creation to the coming of the Messiah. The work was never completely executed. In addition to his religious poems, Du Bartas composed *Les Neuf Muses Pyrénéennes,* which were of a profane character, and also wrote poetry in the Gascon dialect. Before his death he composed a poem on the battle of Ivry.

Du Bartas's experience at Toulouse and his Huguenot environment caused him to extend his sympathy to the literature of the Bible as well as to those of Greece and Rome. His fame as a religious poet extended to many lands. In England, Joshua Sylvester acquired a literary reputation for his version of the *Semaine,* which became one of the great literary models of the Puritans. Milton was probably indebted to him for his conception of *Paradise Lost,* as well as for various passages contained in it. Abraham Cowley drew from him for his epic *Davideis,* and the early American poet, Mrs. Ann Bradstreet ("tenth Muse"), was known as the "Du Bartas maid." In Italy Tasso imitated him in his *Sette giornate del mondo creato,* and in Germany, Goethe was attracted by him, considering him a great master; he was especially struck by the passage where God cast his eye over his completed task:

> "Ici la pastorelle, à trauers vne plaine,
> A l'ombre, d'vn pas lent, son gras troupeau rameine;
> Cheminant, elle file, et, à voir sa façon,
> On diroit qu'elle entonne vne douce chanson."

In spite of his universal popularity, the works of Du Bartas soon

fell into an oblivion in France from which they have never recovered. For three hundred years there has been no complete edition of his works published. One poet alone in modern times has been influenced by him, Heredia (himself half foreign), who took from an episode in Du Bartas' chief poem the title of his *Trophées*.[68] There were both external and internal reasons for the fall of Du Bartas in France. In the first place, he was fully identified with the Huguenot cause, and his writings became a center of conflict between the opposing religious and political factions. The Protestants set him over against Ronsard, the Catholic poet of the court. When the Catholics gained the ascendancy in France, Du Bartas suffered the fate of the defeated Huguenots. In the second place, his works have failed to interest Frenchmen of subsequent generations. This is due partly to the manner in which the author introduced into his works the ill-digested ideas of the Renaissance, partly to the lack of a close unity and well defined thread of action, partly to the language, which lacks for the most part the smoothness and beauty of works produced in the seventeenth century. A comparison of the *Semaine* with Milton's *Paradise Lost* will show clearly why Du Bartas has failed to have the lasting popularity enjoyed by Milton in the English-speaking world. Milton was fortunate in living in the next generation when the ideas of the Renaissance had assumed definite form and the language in both France and England was tending toward perfection. To Du Bartas is due the credit of a lofty conception of a Christian epic, and to Milton the perfecting of it. Milton's relation to Du Bartas is somewhat analogous to that of Racine as the follower and perfecter of Corneille.

In the choice of his theme, in his fondness for introducing all sorts of ideas, such as theology, mythology, history, metaphysics, mathematics, medicine, and the occult and natural sciences—astrology, astronomy, alchemy, physics, chemistry, Du Bartas is a typical poet of the Floral Games. The only difference between him and his companion poets was that what they attempted on a small scale, he tried to do on a colossal one. The mystery of the creation and the beginning of the world haunted the young poets of the Floral Games. A study of the *Livre Rouge* from 1550 to 1565, the

[68] Wright, *Hist. of Fr. Lit.*, p. 226.

year in which Du Bartas won a prize, is convincing proof that he is a natural product of the Floral Games. The opening lines of a few of the *chants royaux* of this period are a good illustration of what the poets at Toulouse considered the chief themes of poetic inspiration:

"L'éternité, infinie mesure
N'ayant milieu, fin ni commencement
Faict l'Univers; l'Univers se mesure
Du temps qui cause altéré changement."
Jehan de Flavyn, 1550.

"Le seul mouvant l'ung et l'autre hémysphère
Et qui ne prend que de soy mouvement,
Mouvant de soy la rondeur de l'esphère,
L'ung cercle esmeut l'autre divinement."
Anthoine Noguierys, 1550.

"La cause seulle, en soy indivisible,
Tout produisant de son mesme pouvoir,
Estre ne peult de son œuvre sensible,
Comprinse en rien, pour son estre et sçavoir."
Guillaume Cayret, 1552.

"Des grands accordz du monde et de nature
Fut procrée Lycaon discordant,
Tant que changé de perverse nature
Pour périr tout par tout va regardant."
. . . . . .
Deucalion qui restaura le monde."
Jehan Carles, 1552.

"Les cieulx estoient par cinq cercles haulséz
Jà commençoit la chaleur véhémente
A descouvrir les monts et boys mussez
En esclairant ceste terre pesante."
Bernard Podius (Poey), 1552.

"Lorsque ce monde en son centre requis,
Monde parfaict, vray pourtraict de nature,
Brusloit en flamme, à grands tourmentz soubmis,
Ne produisant qu'infaicte pourriture, . . ."
Jehan de Barot, 1554.

"Quand l'embrouillé cahos on desmella,
Et que le feu se sépara de l'onde,
Voire la terre à l'air ne rébella,
Une clairté embellit tout le monde."
. . . Dubuys, 1555.

"La terre lorde preit sa place et résidance,
Au plus loing des haultz cieulx la vagabonde mer
A l'entour de la terre esleut sa demeurance,
Et l'air jusqu'an plus hault se voulut sublimer, . . ."
Pierre Garros, 1557.

"Cest ouvrier excellent pensoit en son ouvraige
De se rendre à jamais par ses faictz admirable;
Essaiant d'assopir le descord et la rage
Qui regnoit au chaos lordement détestable, . . ."
Sanxon de Lacroix, 1558.

"L'ouvrier céleste ayant soing d'esgaller
Au plus parfaict de son myeulx ung ouvrage
Que sien il peult hardiment appeller,
Forma ung corps pourtant de son imaige . . ."
J. de Cardonne, 1558.

"Par delà ce grand rond qui la terre enyronne,
De tous solides corps, estant le plus parfaict,
Celluy qui le régit qui l'anime et luy donne . . ."
Guillaume de Lagrange, 1559.

"On a dit vaynement que ceste masse ronde
Son commencement print lors que la paix eust faict
Séparer l'air, le feu, de la terre et de l'onde
N'estant qu'ung lourd cahos, difforme et contrefaict."
Anthoine de Tinturier, 1560.

"Le tout étoit en tout et le tout amassé
N'étoit qu'un lourd monceau, un gros monceau estrange
Sans forme et sans beaulté, nullement compassé
Le ciel, la terre et l'eau, ce n'estoit que meslange . . ."
Bernard de Poey, 1560.

. . . . . .

"Je viz en ung épaiz de mon entendement
L'édifice immortel de la divine essence."
Denys Bouthillier, 1562.

"Le monde charpenté etoit obscur encore
Et encore la nuict ombrageoit l'univers, . . ."
J. Cardonne, 1564.

"Quant ce qui est enclos dessoubz la voûte insigne
Du ciel qui va bornant le monde spacieux
Eust receu sa première et parfaicte origine . . ."
Rodolphe Gay, 1565.

These astronomic citations remain inferior to the splendid passage of Rotrou (*Saint-Genest*, Act ii, Sc. 2):

"J'ose à présent, ô Ciel, d'une vue assurée,
Contempler les brillants de ta voûte azurée,
Et nier ces faux dieux, qui n'ont jamais foulé
De ce palais roulant le lambris étoilé."

In 1564, Du Bartas entered the contest of the Floral Games. The impromptu trial called the *Essay* was imposed upon several of the candidates for one of the prizes. Among them were Guillaume Saluste (Du Bartas) and Robert Garnier. The prize was awarded to Garnier. Robert Garnier studied law at Toulouse. He won the Violet in 1564, and the Eglantine in 1566. He also composed poems in honor of the entry of Charles IX into Toulouse in 1565. While at Toulouse he published a volume of poetry entitled *Plaintes amoureuses*. He was destined to occupy a lasting place in the history of French literature, and had an important hand in shaping the direction of French drama. His most important dramas were *Les Juives* and *Bradamante*, the first French tragi-comedy.

In the next year, 1565, Du Bartas won the Violet for the following chant royal:[69]

"Le nocher basané qui de l'onde azurée
A force d'avirons fend le doz écumeuz
Ung seul moment de temps n'a la vue assurée
Car oultre la fureur des aquilons émeuz
Contre le dard murdrier du foudroiant oraige,
Oultre le traistre abord d'un sabloneux rivaige,
Oultre mile rochers, mil goufres tournoians
Et mil escueils caichés soubz les flotz aboians,

[69] *Livre Rouge*, vol. 1, f. 200. Hitherto unpublished.

Il fault qu'à tous propoz saigement il évite,
Pour trasser sans péril les sillons ondoians,
La voix plongeant les naus dans le sein d'Amphitrite.

Car ez lieux plus fréquens de l'humide contrée
Les filles d'Achélous, cest Achélous fameuz
Qui du Pinde roulant tient l'Actolle émincée
Entre les deux canalz de ses flotz limoneuz,
Tachent des navigans enchaîner le couraige,
Avec l'atraict minhard de leur serain visaige,
Et avec leurs chanssons dont les trompeurs accens
Surpassent en doulceur les soupirs languissans
De l'oiseau d'Apollon quant la mort le visite,
Si qu'on fuyt rarement comme hameçons nuisans
La voix plongeant les naux dans le sein d'Amphitrite.

D'aultant qu'oultre leur voix d'un doux sucre comblée
Et leur bel embonpoinct qui tenteroit les dieux
Toutes trois ont encor parole emmiellée
Qui charme les espritz des passans curieux,
Leur promettant cent fois d'un affecté langaige
Bienheurer de plaisir le reste de leur aige,
Libre de tous soulciz et chagrins des plaisans,
Mesmes de leurs beautés les rendre jouyssans
S'ilz ancrent à ce bord où personne n'habite
Que les nimphes des eaux et les tritons oians
La voix plongeant les naux dans le sein d'Amphitrite.

Adonq les mariniers oians l'âme émurée
De leurs traîtres appas et chantz mélodieux
Singlent d'un roide bras leurs barques calfutrées
Pour aborder bien tost un lieu délicieux
Où les trompeuses seurs dégoisent leur ramaige,
Dessus les pasles eaulx monstrent leur blanc corsaige,
Touteffois sur le poinct qu'ilz s'estiment contentz,
Voissi soubdain l'assault des gros flots floflotans
Qui dans le ventre creuz d'un goufre précipite
Les pouvres nautoniers à bon droict maugréantz
La voix plongeant les naux dans le sein d'Amphitrite.

Mais ceulx follement n'ont leur vie occupée
Après le vain plaisir d'un chant si dangereux,

Ainçois bien adiustés ont l'oreille estoupée,
Pour n'ouir des trois seurs les propoz doulcereuz
Ymitans les soldatz et ceste Ulisse saige,
Qui nonobstant l'effort de mainct et mainct naufraige
Le palais de Neptune a fréquenté dix ans,
Conduiront sans péril leurs galions glissans
Combien que l'Océan encontre iceulx s'irrite,
Car couvers de vertu, ils seront desprisans
La voix plongeant les naux dans le sein d'Amphitrite."

Allégorie.

" Les hommes aveuglés qui durant le voiaige
De ceste frelle vie élisant le servaige
Des sales voluptés sont en fin périssans,
Mais ceulx qui captivans l'appétit de leurs sens
Reçoivent la raison pour leur seure conduicte,
Sont toujours bien heureux, justement haïssans
La voix plongeant les naux dans le sein d'Amphitrite."

In the phrase *flots floflotans* began an imitation of the eccentricities of the Pléiade which Du Bartas carried to excess in his works, and which later not only served to aid in discrediting them, but the Ronsardist tradition as well. Examples of his tendency to exaggeration of language which have been frequently quoted, are his descriptions of the horse and of the lark:

" Le champ plat bat, abat, destrape, grape, atrape
Le vent qui va devant."

" La gentile alouëte avec son tire-lire
Tire l'ire aux faschez: et d'une tire tire
Vers le pôle brillant."

La Semaine contains passages which are evidence of true genius on the part of the author, but the work as a whole is uneven, and the inspiration is not sustained. The following reminds one of the passage which Shakespeare was to write later:

" Le monde est un theatre, où de Dieu la puissance,
La iustice, l'amour, le sçavoir, la prudence,
Iouent leur personnage, et comme à qui mieux mieux

Les esprits plus pesans rauissent sur les cieux.
Le monde est vn grand livre, où du Souuerain maistre
L'admirable artifice on lit en grosse lettre.
Chasque œuure est une page, et chasque sien effect
Est un beau charactere en tous ses traits parfaict."

The poet's fondness for simile is again expressed in the following passage, which contains some lines which are not lacking in grace and beauty:

". . . , ainsi que fait le maistre
D'un bastiment royal, qui plus tost que de mettre
La main à la besongne, eslit vn bastiment,
Où la richesse & l'art luisent esgalement.
Et ne pouuant trouuer en vn seul edifice
Toutes beautez en bloc, il prend le frontispice
De ce palais ici, d'vn autre les piliers,
D'vn autre la façon des riches escaliers:
Et choisissant par tout les choses les plus belles,
Fait vn seul bastiment dessus trente modelles:
Ains n'ayant rien qu'vn Rien pour dessus lui mouler
Vn chef-d'œuure si beau, l'Eternel sans aller
Rauasser longuement, sans tressuer de peine,
Fit l'air, le ciel, la terre, & l'ondoyante plaine:
Ainsi que le Soleil, qui, sans bouger des cieux,
Couronne de bouquets le Printemps gracieux:
Engrosse sans trauail nostre mere feconde,
Et, lointain raieunit le visage du monde."

The traditional influence of the *Roman de la Rose* handed down by the Rhetoricians is to be seen in such lines as:

"Chasse-ennuy, chasse-dueil, chasse-nuict, chasse-craincte."

As for Du Bartas, he successfully imitated at times the manner of the Pléïade:

"Iamais le gai Printemps à mes yeux ne propose
L'azur du lin fleuri, l'incarnat de la rose,
Le pourpre rougissant de l'œillet à maints plis,
Le fin or de Clytie, & la neige du lis,
Que ie n'admire en eux le peintre qui colore

Les champs de plus de teints que le front de l'Aurore,

. . . . . .

Ains, semblable à la fleur du lin qui naist et tombe
Tout en vn mesme iour, son bers seroit sa tombe,
Son printemps son hyuer, sa naissance sa mort."

Du Bartas' apostrophe to Night is not very different from similar ones of Shakespeare:

"L'architecte du monde ordonna qu'à leur tour
Le iour suiuist la nuict, la nuict suiuist le jour.
La nuict peut temperer du iour la secheresse,
Humecte nostre ceil, & nos guerets engresse.
La nuict est celle là qui charme nos trauaux,
Enseuelit nos soins, donne trefue à nos maux.
La nuict est celle-là qui de ses ailes sombres
Sur le monde muet fait auecques les ombres
Degouter le silence, & couler dans les os
Des recreus animaux vn sommeilleux repos.
O douce Nuict, sans toi, sans toi l'humaine vie,
Ne seroit qu'un enfer, où le chagrin, l'enuie,
La peine, l'auarice, & cent façons de morts
Sans fin bourrelleroyent & nos cœurs & nos corps.
O Nuict, tu vas ostant le masque & la feintise,
Dont sur l'humain theatre en vain on se desguise
Tandis que le iour luit, ô Nuict alme par toy
Sont faits de tout esgaux le bouuier et le Roy,
Le pauure et l'opulent, le Grec et le Barbare,
Le iuge & l'accusé, le sçauuant & l'ignare,
Le maistre et le valet, le difforme et le beau:
Car, Nuict, tu couures tout de ton obscur manteau."

The following, composed in a manner dear to Du Bartas, recall some of the lines of the poem of Bernard de Poey, given above:

La terre estoit au ciel, & le ciel en la terre.
La terre, l'air, le feu se tenoyent dans la mer.

In spite of many striking passages and beautiful lines, *La Semaine* is tedious to read. In the vastness of his conception and the universality of the learning he displays, Du Bartas may be com-

pared with Rabelais. He failed to execute well his conception, and in his language suffered the same malady that was common to the poets of the Floral Games. Du Bartas was a Gascon, and never fully mastered the possibilities of the French language. When he sought to imitate the language of the Pléïade, he was unable to use proper discrimination, frequently falling into the worst faults of his models, and surpassing them in the exaggeration of their defects. Had he lived in the second half of the seventeenth century, when the ideas of the Renaissance had become clarified and the language perfected, he would no doubt have produced a lasting masterpiece.

Guillaume Saluste, sieur Du Bartas, Pierre de Brach, of Bordeau, and Pierre Dampmartin, of Toulouse, who were fellow students in the study of law, were close personal friends, and all three courted the Muse in their leisure hours. The last two were winners in the contest of 1567, Dampmartin obtaining the Violet, and Brach the Eglantine. Like Du Bartas, they both show the influence of the Pléïade in their language. The following line is from Dampmartin:

"Restoit encores Mars, ce brave *porte-lance.*"

and these from Brach:

"Empruntant d'Apollon la *douxcullante* haleine."

"Transmis du *darde-foudre* en ceste terre basse."

PIERRE DE BRACH.

Pierre de Brach[70] was born at Bordeaux in 1547. From a reference in his *Hymne de Bordeaux,* it is quite probable that he received his earlier training in the famous college of Guyenne. He studied law at Toulouse, and it was while there that he became interested in poetry. He returned to his native Bordeaux, where he became a lawyer in the parlement. The interest in poetry which

[70] Reinhold Dezeimeris, editor of the works of Pierre de Brach (*Œuvres,* vol. ii, p. 298), gives the following footnote on a sonnet written on the poet by Étienne Pasquier:

"Il est à remarquer que Pasquier, dans ses Œuvres, écrit: BRASCH, ce qui nous indique la prononciation du temps, laquelle s'est conservée dans la famille."

had begun at Toulouse was continued, and Brach became one of the most skillful imitators of the *Pléiade,* first of Du Bellay and Ronsard, and later of Desportes. By studying his models, he was able to acquire a rare polish and finish in his language. His first volume of poems appeared in 1576 from the press of Simon Millanges, who had just set up the first printing press in Bordeaux, and who was destined to become the publisher of the *Essays* of Montaigne. His second volume was composed of imitations of Tasso and Ariosto, appearing in 1584, from the press of Millanges. His third volume was a translation of four cantos[71] of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered,* which appeared from the press of Abel L'Angelier at Paris in 1596. He spent a pleasant life and counted among his many friends, Montaigne, Du Bartas, Florimond Rémond, and Juste Lipse. He was a liberal Catholic in his views, and his attitude toward the religious agitations of his time was not unlike that of his friend Montaigne. Du Bartas, the Huguenot champion, and Florimond Rémond, the fire-eating Catholic, were equally dear to him. It was no doubt this evenness of temperament which prevented him from instilling into his verses that quality of divine fire essential to immortality. Though only a follower, he was an elegant poet and deserved to be better remembered by posterity. He is at his best in the hymn to Bordeaux and the *Voyage en Gascogne.* The latter is a light letter in verse, of which there is not better example in French literature. Pierre de Brach died some time after 1604, according to the sketch of him written by Guillaume Colletet for his *Vies des Poètes françois.* The life of Colletet is included in the collected works of Brach published under the direction of Reinhold Dezeimeris.[72]

The works of Brach as published under the direction of Dezeimeris, are in two volumes, the first of which contains the *Amours d'Aymée* (in two books, before and after marriage), the *Regrets et Larmes funèbres,* upon the death of Aymée, and a fourth book, the *Tombeau et Regrets funèbres,* made up of poems composed by friends of the poet upon the death of his wife. The second volume is composed of four books of *Poèmes et Meslanges.* The poems

[71] Sixteenth, fourth, twelfth, and second.

[72] Two volumes, Paris, Aubry, 1862.

embrace a variety of forms common to the Renaissance, but are principally in the form of elegies, odes and sonnets. The *Amours d'Aymée* is a collection of elegies, odes and sonnets inspired by Anne de Perrot, daughter of the seigneur de Crognac, who lived near Bordeaux. Under the inspiration of an ardent passion, the poet began a series of poems in which the object of his love is given the name "Aymée." Anne de Perrot became his wife, and he continued to sing her praises; like Petrarch, he sang to his sweetheart both during her life and after her death. The most striking sonnet in the collection is the one on Aymée's mirror:

Au lieu de ce miroer qui pend à ta ceinture,[73]
Je veux que de mes vers le miroer soit porté,
Miroer, où vivement ma plume a raporté
Ta beauté, ta rigueur, & le mal que j'endure.
Pour t'immortaliser j'y fay voir ta figure,
Ta rigueur, pour monstrer quelle est ma fermeté,
Mon mal, pour te blasmer de ceste cruauté:
Et tout va tesmoignant combien ma peine est dure.
Sans estre enorgueillie en voyant ton portrait,
Ma belle, souviens-toi que le miroer est fait
Pour voir si quelque tache enlaidist le visage;
Oste donc la rigueur dont le tien est taché.
Rien ne peint un miroer quand l'objet est caché,
Mais le mien sans objet, paint au vif ton image.

After his master Ronsard, Pierre de Brach celebrates the Rose:

Je veux rendre à jamais, par mes vers, renommée[74]
La rose dont Aymée au soir me fist present,
Apres qu'en ma faveur elle l'eut, en baisant
Un baiser dous-sentant, souëfvement en-basmée.
Dans son sein cete rose, estroitement fermée,
Montroit en ses replis son vermeil fletrissant,
Mais je vy la couleur de son taint fanissant,
Se vermeiller aux bords de la bouche d'Aymée.
Ton taint donques, Aymée, à la rose est pareil . . .
Las! non est: car on voit soubs un mesme Soleil
La rose se fanir, de son bouton éclose:

[73] Vol. I, p. 27.
[74] Vol. I, p. 102.

Mais ta beauté, trop belle, embellist tous les jours;
Heureux si ta beauté, sujet de mes amours,
Née & morte en un jour fust ainsi qu'une rose!

The poet sings the death of his beloved Aymée:

Sombre allée, en lauriers espaissemant ombreuse,[75]
Qui me sers de carriere, où je vay si souvant
Esperonné du deuil, cerchant & ne trouvant
Ce que m'a desrobé la tombe tenebreuse,
Ta belle promenade un temps me fust heureuse,
Quand nos devis alloient tes feuilles esmouvant;
Mais ores que mes pleurs vont la terre abreuvant,
Autant que tu m'as pleu, je te trouve ennuieuse.
Beaus lauriers, je pençoy, sans ce triste mechef,
Un jour de vos rameaus voir couronner mon chef;
Je n'ay plus ce desir, & meshuy je proteste
Que mon chef ne sera de verd environné;
Ou, s'il faut que mon front soit un jour couronné,
Ce sera d'un cyprez à la branche funeste.

One of the best of the poems of Brach is *La Monomachie*,[76] in which he vividly portrays the combat between David and Goliath. The following is his portrait of Goliath faring forth to battle:

Ainsi donc, furieux, de colere enflameé,
Il sortit de son camp de pied en cap armé,
Portant un morrion enfoncé sur sa teste,
Ombragé d'un panache au dessous de la creste;
Ses deux greves s'armoient de jambieres d'airain,
De cuirasse son dos, d'une lance sa main
Dont la grandeur sembloit estre expres façonnée
Pour porter d'une nef la grand voile empennée.

En marchant à grands pas la terre il arpentoit;
De sa levre baveuse une escume sortoit;
Une épesse sueur, qui du chef lui degoute
Par les rides du front s'avaloit goute à goute;
Ses yeux tous enflammés ressambloient à l'esclair
Que Jupin fait briller par le vague de l'ær

[75] Tome i, p. 236.
[76] Tome ii, pp. 9 ff.

Pour estre avant-coureur du bourdonnant tonnerre,
Que son bras courroussé de son trosne desserre.

The fatal blow and death of the giant are pictured:

Alors contre la terre affermissant son pas,
Faisant d'un demi tour rouër en l'ær son bras,
Il débanda sa fonde en son doit arrestée,
Au jugement de l'œil mesurant sa portée,
La mesurant si bien, que le caillou jetté
Au milieu de son front fut droitement porté;
Et la force du coup en le frappant fut telle,
Qu'il cercha soubs le test sa gluante cervelle.

Le sang chaud & vermeil à gros bouillons saillant,
Alloit de toutes pars son visage souillant,
Coulant à longs filets, & la terre alterée,
S'abbreuvant de son sang, de sang fut colorée.

Lors, estourdi du coup, deçà, delà tremblant,
De teste & de genous foiblement chancelant,
Il ressembloit l'ivrogne à qui le pied chancelle,
Pour s'estre trop chargé de l'enfant de Semelle;
Mais apres qu'il se fut longuement balancé,
Il tomba de son long en terre renvercé.
De se lever debout par trois fois il essaye,
Par trois fois il retombe, agravé de sa playe,
Secoüant le jarret, levant en haut la main,
Qui, mi-morte, en tremblant se combatoit en vain.

In his hymn to his native city, the poet is truly inspired. Under his pen, alternate praise and description bring before the eye of the reader in kaleidoscopic fashion the essential qualities and features of the city and life of Bordeaux:[77]

"Ores, d'un masle son, d'une plus forte vois,
Je veux chanter Bourdeaux, jadis siege des rois."

. . . . . .

"Mais où, comment, par quoi faut-il que je commence?
Je me trouve indigent en ma riche abondance;"

. . . . . .

[77] Tome ii, pp. 63 ff.

"Ainsy voit on souvent la jeune fiancée,
Qui sent d'un chaste amour eschauffer sa pencée,
Errer dans un jardin, pour cueillir de sa main
Un bouquet bien fleurant à mettre dans son sein;
Ou pour à son ami, le mettant comme en montre,
Le faire demander à leur premier rencontre.
Elle voit le jardin de fleurs tout diapré:
Là l'aspic porte-epy, ici l'œillet pourpré,
Là blanchissent les lis, la vermeillent les roses
Au lever du matin nouvellement écloses;
Ici jaunit la fleur qui regarde en son cours
Le soleil desdaigneux de ses longues amours,
Et dix mille autres fleurs elle voit devant elle,
Sans pouvoir faire chois de la fleur la plus belle;
Mais, épointe à la fin d'un mouvement soudain,
Elle arrache la fleur la plus proche à sa main.
Du los donc de Bourdeaux cueillons la fleur premiere,
Sans choisir, perennant sa saison printaniere."[78]

After singing of the antiquities of Bordeaux, the poet turns to the modern side, celebrating the churches, the parlement, etc.

"Bourdeaux, si j'ai chanté ta plus vieille memoire,
Je veux chanter le los de ta plus jeune gloire,
Ces temples, ces palais, qui en leur nouveauté
Sans ruine ont gardé leur premiere beauté."

In concluding, the poet says:

"Bourdeaux, il eust fallu, pour chanter tes merites,
Cent mille raretés avoir encor descrites,
Bourdeaux, heureux Bourdeaux, duquel toujours mes vers

[78] Compare the following fragment from Du Bartas:

"Sçais-tu que nous ferons?—O Muse, mon soucy,
Mes delices, mon tout!—Nous ferons tout ainsi
Que la pucelle main d'une jeune bergere,
Qui ne va despouillant toute la prime vere
De ses peintes beautés, & ne vous ravissant
Un matin tout l'honneur d'un jardin florissant:
Ains coupe, en ce carreau, une fleur azuree,
En l'autre, une blanchastre, en l'autre une doree.
De ses cheveux les lie, &, chaste, les baisant,
A son cher fiancé s'en-court faire un present."
—Tome ii, p. 401, éd. 1611, *Œuvres* de Du Bartas.

Bruiront & rebruiront le los par l'univers,
Je te repute heureux, pour ne voir ta contrée
Par un Cancre brulant chaudement alterée;
Heureux, pour ne te voir assis au mesme endroit
Des Scytes englacés, qui, soubs un ær trop froid,
Et trop loin du Soleil, ont tousjours sur leur teste,
Soufflés, negés, glacés, l'hiverneuse tempeste; . . ."

Brach's disgust with the study of law at Toulouse is voiced in the following sonnet:

Pourquoi ne pouvons-nous acheter la science?[79]
Ou pourquoi ne vient elle avec l'heredité?
Pourquoi l'astre éclairant nostre nativité
Ne la darde sur nous avec son influence,
Sans que, pour en avoir la sage connoissance,
Et le corps & l'esprit soit tousjours tormenté,
Souffrant dans un estude ou le chaud d'un esté,
Ou d'un hyver glacé la froide intemperance?
L'ær n'agueres bouilloit soubs le feu du soleil,
Ores il est gelé trop lointain de son œil,
Blutant épessement des neiges farineuses.
Je bruslois lors de chaud; je glace ores de froid:
Violà les passetemps que mon esprit reçoit,
Apprenant les accords de nos lois querelleuses.

He celebrates a sweetheart left behind in Toulouse at the end of his student days. One will note the beauty and sadness of the last three lines:

Ny voir à mon retour mes parens contentés[80]
Ny voir de mes amis une trouppe cherie;
Ny voir les champs fertils de ma chere patrie
D'où je m'étoi bani dé-jà par trois estés;
Ny voir en nostre port mille nouvelletés
Qu'apporte l'Occean alors qu'il se marie
A nos fleuves Gascons, desquels le cours varie
Par le regorgement de ses flots irrités;

[79] Tome ii, p. 194.
[80] Tome ii, p. 195.

Ny me voir contanté d'une large abondance,
Me voyant estre exempt de l'estroite indigence
Que le pouvre escolier a tousjours pres de soi:
Je n'ay de tout cela reçeu tant de liesse,
Que du seul souvenir de ma belle maistresse,
Qui peut estre a perdu le souvenir de moi.

In the following *sonnet,* Brach struck a chord which brings to mind *Les Fâcheux,* that Molière was to write in the next century:

Je n'aime point d'ouïr les nouvelles qu'on dit;
Mais tousjours, par malheur, le premier que j'acoste
A leu quelque paquet apporté par un poste,
Et m'asseure avoir veu quelque nouvel edit.
Puis quelque autre nouvelle un autre me redit,
Et, s'il n'en sçait aucune, il en forge à sa poste;
Puis quelque autre, arrivé fraischement par la poste,
Par quelque autre nouvelle à ceux-là contredit.
Ainsi diverçement je suis contraint d'apprendre
Mille nouvelletés qu'il me fâche d'entendre;
Mais en me les disant on les dit à un sourd,
Et l'on n'a garde apres de les m'ouïr redire,
Car il est dangereux d'en dire ou d'en escrire:
Et j'en prens pour tesmoin les arrests de la Cour.

The above is one of a series of nineteen *sonnets* satirizing the condition of France in the midst of the turmoil of the civil and religious wars. The poet gives voice to his indignation in the following:

Miserables François, hé! que voulés vous faire?
Hé! pourquoi voulés vous, enyvrés de courrous,
Enfelonnant vos cœurs, vous occire entre vous,
Et de vos propres mains vous mesmes vous deffaire?
Miserables François, he! qu'aviés vous affaire
En vous remutinant de vous eslever tous?
Mais encor, qui pis est, hé! pourquoi, pouvres fous,
Armés vous l'estranger, pour vuider vostre affaire?
Las! c'est le plus beau jeu qui lui pourroit venir,

[81] Tome ii, p. 130.
[82] Tome ii, p. 125.

Soubs couleur de vouloir un parti soustenir,
De pouvoir envahir la France desolée.
Un jouët plus plaisant il ne pourroit avoir,
Que de voir cete guerre entre-vous s'esmouvoir,
Pour pescher, comme on dit, quand la mer est troublée.

The *Voyage en Gascogne* is a letter in verse which Pierre de Brach addressed to his friend, Pierre de Dampmartin, fellow student and companion of the Floral Games, and in which he describes a journey which he took to the castle of Bartas at Montfort in Gascony in company with Guillaume Saluste:

"Le soleil se levant de son nuiteux sejour,
Avecques nos travaux nous ramena le jour
Que nous devions partir, Saluste époint d'envie
D'aller revoir les champs de sa chere patrie,
Et moi de m'esloigner de la confusion
De quelques fols s'armans pour la sedition,
D'où le peuple auguroit, murmurant par la ville,
L'indomptable fureur d'une guerre civile."

It is probable that this journey was undertaken in the summer of 1567, shortly after Brach and Dampmartin had won their prizes in the Floral Games. Affairs in France were heading toward the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew. So troubled were the times that the university remained closed in the fall of 1567.[83]

The poet relates that after visiting the lodging of his friend Dampmartin, three times in vain, to tell him good-bye, he went in quest of Du Bartas, or as he calls him, Saluste, and they set out on horseback at sunrise, determined to arrive at Montfort the same day,

"Bien aises de laisser les prisons d'une ville[84]
Où soubs le joug des loix nostre esprit est servile:
Entamant ce pendant divers propos, affin
De pouvoir en parlant accourcir le chemin."

"Ici le tapis verd d'une plate campagne,
Ici le front bossé d'une haute montagne,

[83] R. Gadave, *Documents sur l'Histoire de l'Université de Toulouse*, p. 172. Paris, Picard, 1910.

[84] Tome ii, pp. 176 ff.

Ici l'ombrage frais des épesses forests,
Ici les riches dons de la blonde Ceres,
Ici d'un champ fertil la terre labourée,
Ici le plain herbu qui bigorre une prée
Esblouissent nos yeux au lustre des couleurs
Que redonne l'esmail de mille & mille fleurs."

"Nous trouvons en chemin de paisans une presse
Qui leurs biens apportoient dans leur ville maistresse;
Tout ainsi que l'on voit que les petits ruisseaux
Apportent dans la mer le tribut de leurs eaux.
L'un d'un panier de fruit a la teste chargée;
L'autre porte à plain bras un grand fais de jonchée;
L'un porte dans sa main le pepiant poulet,
L'autre dessus son col le beslant agnelet,
Et chacun qui venoit apportoit quelque chose
Pour de sa pouvreté enrichir ta Tolose."

. . . . . .

"Alors le clair Phœbus, en sa courçe ordonnée,
Estoit au mi-chemin de sa longue journée,
Et du rayon ardent de son œil enflammé
En feu tout sembloit estre icy bas alumé;
Quand, fâché de sentir cete chaleur extreme,
Je m'advançay tout seul, bâtissant en moi-mesme
Mille chasteaux en l'ær que mon esprit faisoit
Sur le moule incertain de ce qui lui plaisoit.
A la fin, ennuyé de ces vaines pencées
Trop souvent à par moi vainement repencées,
Saluste j'appelay & trois & quatre fois;
Comme il ne respondoit, je rehaussay ma vois,
Estimant que Zephir de son alaine mole
Emportast parmi l'ær le son de ma parole.
Mais je le vi de loin qui venoit pas à pas
Branlant deçà, delà, penchant sa teste en bas,
Sur le col du cheval ayant lâché la bride,
Qui marchoit à son aise & lui servoit de guide."

"Alors je recommence à l'appeller plus fort;
Mais il ne respondoit non plus qu'un homme mort,
Me faisant souvenir en sa forme endormie

De ceux qui sont attains de quelque maladie,
Et qui, pour changer d'ær estants mis à cheval,
Tremblent, mal assurés, se plaignant de leur mal."

"Voyant qu'il ne m'oioit, mon chemin je rebrousse,
Je m'approche de lui, roidement je le pousse,
Le tenant toutefois d'une main arresté
De peur qu'il ne tombast devers l'autre costé;
A la fin il s'esveille, &, tenant bonne mine,
Il dist qu'en son esprit quelque chose il rumine,
Qu'il ravassoit ailleurs, qu'il n'estoit endormi,
Bien que la nuit passée il n'eust guere dormi.
Mais quoi! tout aussi tost encore il resommeille:
Quatre fois il s'endort, quatre fois je l'esveille."

"A la fin, pour oster le sommeil otieux
Qui silloit à tous coups la paupiere à ses yeux,
Je lui parlay d'Amour, sçachant qu'il avoit l'ame
Captive soubs le joug des beautés d'une Dame:
Le sommeil aussi tost de ses yeux s'en vola;
Sa langue du palais soubdain se décola
En ouvrant le conduit d'une douce eloquence,
Pour me conter d'Amour la force & la puissance,
Les esbats, les plaisirs qu'il mesle avec son fiel,
Les peines, les torments qu'il mesle avec son miel."

Night overtakes the youths before the completion of the journey:

". . . l'obscur de la nuit retournée,
Au chasteau du Bartas borna nostre journée,
Bartas où la nature & l'art industrieux
Semblent pour l'embellir avoir mis tout leur mieux."

After halting for the night, the two friends resume their journey on the morrow, and as they approach Montfort, Du Bartas exclaims:

"Voilà le lieu, dit-il, de ma nativité;
Voilà Monfort qui m'a dans ses bras alaité."

. . . . . .

"Approchant de Monfort, les citoyens venoient,
Qui d'un accolement Saluste bien-venoient;
Et ses autres amis d'une troupe infinie

Jusques dans sa maison nous firent compagnie,
Où nous prenons l'esbat de mille passetemps,
Estants ore à la ville, ores estants aux champs,
Visitant ça & là la Gascongne fertile,
De village en bourgade & de bourgade en ville."

. . . . . .

"Et, vaguants au plaisir du vouloir qui nous mene,
Nous lisons quelque histoire ou Françoise ou Romaine,
Jusqu'à ce que le chaud nous contraint retourner
Enclorre à la maison, jusqu'à l'après disner
Que nous cerchons le frais d'un berceau qui nous couvre, . . ."

. . . . . .

"Et là Saluste & moi, estendus à l'envers,
Lisons dans quelque livre, ou composans des vers,
Inspirés saintement d'une ardeur poëtique,
Estants soubs la fraicheur de cet arbre Delphique."

After tiring of such a pastime, the youths stroll out into the fields and watch the peasants at the harvest. The poet pictures the harvest scene in a simple and vivid manner. He closes his poem with a picture of the charms of rustic life;

"Ainsi, mon Dampmartin, j'aimeroi cent fois mieux
Vivre aux champs en travail qu'en la ville otieux,
Regrettant que le ciel ne m'a voulu permettre
De suivre en travaillant cete vie champestre,
Pour m'estre réjouï aux passetemps divers
Qu'icy je t'ay portraits du pinçeau de mes vers."

Following is the second strophe of the *chant royal* for which Pierre de Brach was awarded the Eglantine in 1567. A comparison with the above later poems indicates the evolution of the poet's art:

"Le président du ciel qui de l'éternité[85]
En son tout infini tient l'éternel espasse,
Et qui par l'esprit sainct de sa divinité
Tout ce que l'homme faict en ce monde compasse,
Voiant que les humains enflammés de fureur
S'ouvrent méchantement le péché plein d'horreur,
Qui d'un murtrier lien dans l'enfer les enlasse,

Pour les tirer de là et leur ouvrir les yeux
Qui peuvent ce monter au ciel la gent humaine
Envoya de là-hault en ces terrestres lieux
Le prophète englouty au sein de la baleyne."

GUY DU FAUR, SIEUR DE PIBRAC.

Another illustrious poet of the Floral Games, who was destined to have a more lasting literary fame in France than either Du Bartas or Brach, was Guy du Faur, sieur de Pibrac, author of the *Quatrains*.

Guy du Faur belonged to one of the best known families of south France in the sixteenth century. He was the son of Pierre du Faur, president in the parlement of Toulouse and from 1535 to 1558 chancellor of the Floral Games. His uncle, Michel du Faur de Saint Jory, was also a president in the parlement and chancellor of the Floral Games for many years, succeeding to the office upon the death of Pierre du Faur in 1559. He in turn was succceeded as chancellor by his son, Pierre du Faur de Saint Jory, who held the office from 1590 to 1600, and who was first president of the parlement. When Michel du Faur was elevated to the office of chancellor, his chair as mainteneur was left vacant. His nephew, Guy du Faur, was elected to succeed him. The record of the *Livre Rouge* states: . . . "fut par commun advis et oppinion desd. seigneurs, chancelier, cappitolz, maincteneurs et maistres, arresté que la résignation faicte par icelluy seigneur chancellier dudict office de maincteneur, estoit accepté et en son lieu feust esleu et nommé monsieur maistre Guy du Faur, seigneur de Pibrac, conseiller au grand conseil et juge-maige de Tholose." In addition to the offices just mentioned, Guy du Faur de Pibrac was a deputy to the States General which assembled at Orléans in 1560, was ambassador from France to the Council of Trent in 1562; he was also *avocat général* in the parlement of Paris in 1565. He accompanied the Duke of Anjou to Poland in 1573. During the reign of this prince, who ascended the throne of France as Henry III, he was, in succession, councilor of state, president of the parlement of Paris, chancellor of Margaret of Navarre, who intrusted him with important missions. An orator

[85] Michel du Faur, president of the parlement of Toulouse, was at this time chancellor of the Floral Games. The poet is playing to the galleries.

of great eloquence, one of the most erudite men of his time, poet, diplomat, statesman, Guy de Pibrac was a typical man of the Renaissance. As a writer, his works embrace: the *Quatrains,* many times reprinted,[86] the *Plaisirs de la Vie Rustique,* and in prose, *Lettres, Discours,* his famous *Apologie de la Saint Barthélemy,* and the *Remonstrances* which he delivered in his quality of *avocat général* at Paris.

De Thou, in his *mémoires,* says of Pibrac, that "he was of an incorruptible probity and of a sincere piety; he had a veritable zeal for the public welfare, a lofty heart, a generous soul, an extreme aversion for avarice, a great deal of charm, and a certain gentleness of spirit. He was handsome, of graceful mien, and endowed by nature with an eloquence which was both harmonious and persuasive; he wrote in Latin with elegance, and had much talent for French poetry; he was only lacking somewhat in action and vivacity; he had never been able to overcome his natural laziness and indolence."[87] Although a Catholic, he displayed a moderate spirit toward the Huguenots, and spent much time in attempting to smooth out the differences between the contending factions at Toulouse. He was a friend of Scaliger, Daurat, Ronsard, Baïf and of all the Pléiade. Florent Chrétien translated his *Quatrains* into Latin and Greek. Rapin called him "*decus secli,*" and Du Bartas dedicated to him his *Triomphe de la foi.* He was likewise on friendly terms with Scévole de Sainte-Marthe, with De Thou, Étienne Pasquier, Michel de l'Hospital, Pithou and Du Vair. He was loved and admired by Montaigne, who eulogized him in his Essays (III, ix),

[86] The latest edition of the *Quatrains* is that of Henry Guy, dean of the faculty of letters in the university of Toulouse, published by Privat at Toulouse, 1904. The poems are preceded by an admirable essay on Pibrac, and the *Quatrains* themselves are annotated. See Jules Claretie, *Les Quatrains de Pibrac,* Paris, Lemerre, 1874. See also Tamizey de Larroque, *Bibliographie de Guy du Faur, de Pibrac,* Polybibl., 1869; Cougny, *Pibrac, sa vie, ses écrits,* 1869.

Early editions: *Cinquante Quatrains contenant préceptes et enseignemens utiles pour la vie de l'homme, composez à l'imitation de Phocylides, d'Epicharmus et autres anciens poëtes grecs. Par le S. de Pibrac,* 1574, in-8. Ch. Pascal: *Vie et Mœurs de Messire Guy du Faur, seigneur de Pybrac, traduit du latin par Guy du Faur, Sr. d'Hermay,* 1617, in-12. The *Quatrains* were translated into English and were included in an early edition, along with the translation of the works of Du Bartas.

[87] Cayla, *Histoire de Toulouse,* p. 497.

and he is likewise mentioned by Rabelais in his book. In spite of the universal esteem in which he was held, his reputation suffered both from his *Apology* for the massacres of Saint Bartholomew, written as a token of gratitude for favors which had been bestowed upon him by the queen mother, Catherine de Médicis, and the king, Charles IX, and from a scandal concerning his alleged relations with the dissolute Margaret of Navarre, whose chancellor he was. After the storm arose concerning his *Apology* for Saint Bartholomew, he retired from the world and composed his *Plaisirs de la vie rustique*. The first edition of his *Quatrains,* fifty in number, appeared in 1574.

The *Quatrains* had an instantaneous success. In their final form they were 126 in number. Maxims or proverbs in verse, they were easily memorized. The form and the moral precepts which they contained were well adapted for use in the instruction of youth, and they became the "Bible" of French school children, being freely quoted until well into the eighteenth century. Of the rôle which this work played in education, Étienne Pasquier says:[88] "Jamais chose ne fut plus utile et agreable au peuple que les Quadrains . . . Nous les faisions apprendre à nos enfants pour leur servir de premiere instruction, et neantmoins dignes d'estre enchâssez aux cœurs des plus grands." In the opening scene of Molière's *Sganarelle,* Gorgibus admonishes his daughter Clélie to throw away the popular romances which she had been reading and to read instead the *Quatrains* of Pibrac:

> Jetez-moi dans le feu tous ces méchants écrits
> Qui gâtent tous les jours tant de jeunes esprits;
> Lisez-moi, comme il faut, au lieu de ces sornettes,
> Les *Quatrains* de Pibrac, et les doctes *Tablettes*
> Du conseiller Matthieu; l'ouvrage est de valeur
> Et plein de beaux dictons à réciter par cœur.

Madame de Maintenon bears testimony of the place occupied by the Quatrains in the instruction of children: Je me souviens encore que ma cousine et moi, qui étions à peu près du même âge, nous passions une partie du jour à garder les dindons de ma tante. On nous plaquoit un masque sur notre nez, car on avoit peur que nous

[88] *Recherches,* VII, 6.

ne nous hâlassions; on nous mettoit au bras un petit panier où étoit notre déjeuner avec un petit livret des *Quatrains* de Pibrac, dont on nous donnoit quelques pages a apprendre par jour. . . ."[89] In her treatise on the education of girls,[90] Madame de Maintenon observes: "La plus habile (des gouvernantes) est celle qui sait quelques lignes de vers, quelques *Quatrains* de Pibrac qu'elle fait dire en toute occasion, et qu'on récite comme un petit perroquet."

The *Quatrains* are, according to their author, an imitation of Phocylides, Epicharmus and other ancient Greek poets. As a matter of fact, they are drawn from various sources of antiquity, particularly Plutarch, as well as from the Bible.[91] In their sources they are of the Renaissance; in their form, of the middle ages. Beginning with the *Enseignemens* and *Prouverbes moraulx* of Christine de Pisan, proverbial poetry had been common in north France throughout the period of the Rhetoricians. Pibrac handles the proverbial subjects which he treats after two manners. Some of the *Quatrains* form series, others are isolated. The subject is stated in the first line and developed in the remaining lines of a single *Quatrain* or of a series, as the case may be. The intent of the author is a moral one, and in his *Quatrains* he voices his moral philosophy.

Guy de Pibrac is a thorough product of the influence of the Floral Games. While he never won a prize in the annual competitions, except a flower of encouragement in his childhood,[92] he was a mainteneur in the period when the general ideas of the Renaissance were having a strong influence on the young poets of Toulouse. Although he did not express himself in the conventional

[89] *Conseils aux demoiselles,* édit. Lavallé, Paris, 1857, t. I, p. 98. Quoted by Henry Guy.

[90] *Entretiens sur l'éducation de jeunes filles,* édit. Lavallé, Paris, 1854, p. 144. Quoted from Henry Guy.

[91] Henry Guy: *Les Quatrains de Pibrac,* pp. 12 ff., Toulouse, 1904.

[92] In 1572, Pierre du Faur, the young son of Guy de Pibrac, was awarded a flower (prize) of encouragement by the Floral Games in the form of an *œillet,* or pink. Upon this occasion his father composed a *sonnet,* of which the following is the beginning:

> "Mon fils, tu as gaigné ceste petite fleur
> Dont je voy mon enfance à ton âge estrénée,
> Mais comme elle me fut par mon père donnée,
> J'eusse aussi désiré en estre le donneur."

Quoted by F. de Gélis in his manuscript edition of the *Livre Rogue,* f. 269, v°.

chant royal, he chose a form as truly Rhetorician as that employed by the Floral Games.[93] That he chose to treat moral subjects is no doubt due to the environment of his youth and manhood. He came of a family of parlementaires, and was himself connected with the parlement. The members of the parlement of Toulouse, particularly in the time of Henry II, had a reputation for stern probity and incorruptibility. At a time when the corruption of the parlement of Paris was common talk, that of Toulouse was held up as an example of correctness. The moral side of antiquity was attractive to the legal and judicial mind. Mathieu de Chalvet, who was president of the parlement of Toulouse in the middle of the sixteenth century (as well as poet and mainteneur of the Floral Games) was especially attracted by Seneca, and translated his essays. That Pibrac as a poet was the product of his Toulouse environment, there can be no doubt.

As previously stated, the poet expresses his thoughts in series of *quatrains*, of which the following is a good illustration:

> Tout l'vniuers n'est qu'vne cité ronde,
> Chacun a droict de s'en dire bourgeois,
> Le Scythe et More autant que le Gregois,
> Le plus petit que le plus grand du monde.

[93] Proverbial refrains were common enough in the *chants royaux* of the poets of the Floral Games. In an impromptu trial (*essay*) by which the merits of the poets came to be tested, as has been stated elsewhere, the contestants were shut up in a room and assigned a refrain, most often in the form of a proverb, upon which they were compelled to compose verses: at first *quatrains, huitains* or *dixains*, eventually *sonnets*. The *sonnet* became the sole form employed in the *Essay*. Note the proverbial nature of these refrains which have been culled from the *Livre Rouge:*

> "Point n'est à tous parvenir à Corinthe."
> "Le vice et la vertu ne sont jamais ensemble."
> "Une seule vertu mile vices efface."
> "Qui trop ayme la terre est ennemy du ciel."
> "Ung chemin aus vertus, plusieurs chemins au vice."
> "Plusieurs vont au combat, un seule gaigne la palme."
> "Le frain de la raison dompte les plus farouches."
> "Le seul soing du seigneur est la garde des villes."
> "La chaleur du soleil est la vie du monde."

Note the difficulty of the rime word in the first of the refrains cited. It would take a crested poet to be able to rime to *Corinthe!* Cf. Rostand's *Cyrano*, in Act I, where Cyrano selects the difficult word *pleutre* as a rime word in his extemporary ballade.

Dans le pourpris de ceste cité belle
Dieu a logé l'homme comme en lieu sainct,
Comme en vn Temple, où luymesmes s'est peinct
En mil endroicts de couleur immortelle.

Il n'y a coing si petit dans ce Temple
Où la grandeur n'apparoisse de Dieu:
L'homme est planté iustement au milieu,
A fin que mieux par tout il la contemple.

Il ne sçauroit ailleurs mieux la cognoistre
Que dedans soy, où comme en vn miroir,
La terre il peut et le ciel mesme voir,
Car tout le monde est compris en son estre. (6–9)

The following illustrates the isolated *quatrain:*

Ne vois au bal, qui n'aymera la danse,
Ny au banquet qui ne voudra manger,
Ny sur la mer qui craindra le danger,
Ny à la Cour qui dira ce qu'il pense. (105)

The following *quatrains* illustrate other phases of the poet's thought:

Qui a de soi parfaicte cognoissance
N'ignore rien de ce qu'il fault sçauoir:
Mais le moyen asseuré de l'auoir,
Est se mirer dedans la sapience. (10)

Heureux qui met en Dieu son esperance,
Et qui l'inuoque en sa prosperité
Autant ou plus qu'en son aduersité,
Et ne se fie en humaine asseurance. (22)

Les biens du corps et ceux de la fortune
Ne sont pas biens, à parler proprement:
Ils sont subiects au moindre changement,
Mais la vertu demeure tousiours vne. (25)

Ayme l'honneur plus que ta propre vie:
I'entens l'honneur qui consiste au deuoir
Que rendre on doit, selon, l'humain pouuoir,
A Dieu, au Roy, aux Loix, à sa Patrie. (33)

Vertu ès mœurs ne s'acquiert par l'estude,
Ne par argent, ne par fauer des Roys,
Ne par vn acte, ou par deux, ou par trois,
Ains par constante et par longue habitude. (61)

Qui lit beaucoup, et iamais ne medite,[94]
Semble à celuy qui mange auidement,
Et de tous mets surcharge tellement
Son estomach, que rien ne luy profite. (62)

Maint vn pouuoit par temps deuenir sage,
S'il n'eust cuidé l'estre ia tout à faict.
Quel artisant fut onc maistre parfaict,
Du premier iour de son apprentissage? (64)

In the very narrow confines of his small study chamber, seated on a high-backed bench, the jurist poet, as he gazed out of the single narrow window upon the undulating Gascon plain,[95] reflected upon the moral issues of life and upon the pleasures of a quiet existence, far from the crowd and surrounded by the peaceful quiet of the country:

Sans doncques plus avant du propos m'égarer,
Je dis que lorsqu'on voit les champs se bigarrer,
De boutons et de fleurs, alors l'homme champêtre
Reçoit mille plaisirs: soit qu'il regarde paître
Ses vaches et ses bœufs et le troupeau menu,
Ou qu'il voise nombrer, quand le soir est venu,
Les agnelets au parc pour en savoir le compte,
Et du beurre vendu, et à quoi le lait monte;
Ou soit, qu'au point du jour, d'un bouton nouvelet
De quelque franc rosier, il fasse un chapelet
Aux Faunes, citoyens de la forêt voisine,
Ou à la terre mère, honorant sa gésine . . .[96]

[94] An English poet said more pointedly of a learned ass:

"Who writes at last laboriously to show
How much a man may read, how little know."
Thomas Franklin, London, 1753.

[95] Upon a visit to the château of Pibrac in the summer of 1919, the writer was shown the small room in which, according to monsieur Raoul de Pibrac, descendant of Guy de Pibrac and present owner of the estate, the poet composed his works.

[96] *Anthologie poétique française du xvi^e siècle* (by Maurice Allem), Garnier Frères, Paris, Tome 2, p. 29.

Les Plaisirs de la vie rustique, from which the above is quoted, is a conventional poem after the manner of the Pléiade, but in his *Quatrains* the poet makes a genuine contribution to the literature of the Renaissance.

Other poets of the Toulouse group contemporary with the Pléiade, who published volumes of poetry and who attained considerable literary reputation, were Jean de Rangouse,[97] rival of Ronsard for the affections of Hélène de Surgères, maid of honor to the queen Cathérine de Médicis; Jean de Figon,[98] whom Colletet included among his lives of the poets, Gabriel de Terlon,[99] and Pierre Le Loyer.

PIERRE LE LOYER.

Pierre Le Loyer, of Anjou, was a student at Toulouse and won the Eglantine in 1572. He was the sieur de la Brosse and was born in 1550 at Huillé, a village on the Loire. After studying law at Toulouse, he went to Paris to practice; but soon retired to his native province, where he occupied the office of *conseiller au présidial* at Angers. He died in 1634. He was a learned man, versed in the ancient languages. His erudition turned into a mania for finding

[97] Dumège gives a sketch of Rangouse in his *Biographie toulousaine.* He was a magistrate and poet. He wrote a large number of *chansons,* for which he composed the airs. Remy Belleau and the poets of the Pléiade furnished him material for several musical compositions. While still quite young, he went to Paris where he became allied with Ronsard and other celebrated men of letters. It is said that his friendship with Ronsard was cooled by the rivalry in love mentioned above in the text. He was a *conseiller* in the parlement at Toulouse from 1558, and died in that city in 1569. He won the Violet in 1550.

[98] Jean de Figon was a student from Monteillimar in Dauphiné. Guillaume Colletet devoted to him one of his *Vies des Poètes françois.* He won the Eglantine in 1558.

[99] Gabriel de Terlon (Trellon), who won the Marigold (Souci) in 1566, and the Eglantine in 1569, was the son of Claude de Terlon who had won the Marigold in 1540, brother of Claude de Terlon, an intense partisan of the *Ligue,* and a poet of considerable fame; a sketch of whom was included by Colletet in his lives. Claude de Terlon, the father, was a distinguished lawyer, and according to Lafaille, the most distinguished orator of his time. He was elected capitoul of Toulouse in 1555, and in 1559 was chosen as a deputy to accompany Guy de Pibrac to the States General at Orléans. Gabriel de Terlon became a mainteneur of the Floral Games in 1591. He was the author of several literary compositions, notably of a longer poem in six cantos: *Chants des Vertus,* mentioned by Dumège in his *Biographie toulousaine.*

in the oriental languages the etymology of names of French cities, villages, hamlets, and even of the houses of his native Anjou. In the year in which he won his prize, he published at Toulouse a volume of verses, some of which had no doubt been read before the judges of the Floral Games. The title of this volume, which appeared from the press of Colomiès, was: *L'Idylle sur le soir et autres vers par Pierre Le Loyer, Seigneur de la Brosse, Angevin.*[100] He also published at Paris poetic works[101] containing the *Amours de Flore, Sonnets, Folasteries et Ébats de jeunesse, Épigrammes,* and *Bocage de l'art d'aimer,* imitated from Ovid, from which the following stanzas are taken:

PREMIER BOCAGE DE L'ART D'AIMER.[102]

Stances.

Quiconque soit des Français qui ignore
Quel est d'aimer et l'art et le savoir,
Lise mes vers et fasse son devoir
D'effectuer ce qu'il va lire encore.

Par art, la nef parmi les flots se glisse,
Et d'avirons la barque on fait tourner;
Par art on doit les charrettes mener,
Par art il faut que l'amour se régisse.

Or, ce bel art, bien qu'il soit difficile,
Apre et fâcheux en ses premiers progrès,
S'il est suivi, l'on s'aperçoit après
Qu'il est plus doux, plus joyeux et facile.

L'amour commence au choix qu'on fait des belles,
Après le choix survient le deviser,
Puis la prière et le simple baiser,
Et la merci que l'on désire d'elles.

[100] Cf. Goujet: *Bibliothèque française,* and Joseph Dedieu: *L'Art poétique français, Toulouse,* 1909.

[101] Maurice Allem (*Anthol. poétique du xvi^e siècle*) says that this volume was published in 1570 during his stay at Paris. Since he was at Toulouse at that time, the volume either appeared after 1572 or prior to his winning a prize at Toulouse.

[102] This poem is taken from Maurice Allem, mentioned above.

Et pour choisir les belles à ta guise,
Il faut hanter la cour où elles sont,
Et les festins et les bals qui se font,
Et les beaux lieux, et la plus grande église.

Sois bien vêtu, et surtout prends-toi garde
D'être bien net, bien propre et bien gentil:
Plus qu'un esprit admirable et subtil,
Ce qui se voit, une femme regarde.

Ce grand Socrate, ornement de la Grèce,
Fut-il jamais des femmes estimé?
Et toutefois il tenait enfermé
Dans son esprit le trésor de sagesse.

Et, si tu peux, apprends la poésie
Et le beau ton de mille chants divers:
Ne vois-tu pas la musique et les vers
Gagner les sens, l'âme et la fantaisie?

Être à cheval et lui donner carrière,
Virevolter en maint estourbillon,
Darder la barre et pousser le ballon,
Cela sert bien d'une amource première.

Mêle souvent du sel en tes paroles;
N'hésite point, parle sans trop parler;
Ne sois point long, cela ne peut aller
Qu'à ces pédants qui tonnent aux écoles.

Va entre deux et ne sois point farouche,
Ni trop joyeux, si tu veux parler bien;
Car la vertu consiste en son moyen:
Au trop et peu toujours le vice touche.

Vers les amours, quand le désir t'appelle,
Ne songe pas à fonder ton appui
Dessus la veuve et la femme d'autrui,
Aussi plutôt sur la tendre pucelle.

L'œillet vermeil est au sein de la fille:
Quand il flétrit on le jette au fumier;
La rose est plus prisée en son verger,
Que quand la main et l'arrache et la pille.

Dedans le bal va t'asseoir auprès d'elle,
L'entretenir, l'appuyer de tes bras;
Et si tu vois qu'elle est sise bien bas,
Fais-lui servir tes genoux d'escabelle.

Dessus sa robe ôte-lui la poussière,
Ou fais semblant de l'ôter pour le moins;
Danse avec elle et lui serre les mains,
Montrant l'effort de sa grâce meurtrière.

Si trop longtemps la danse te retarde
Pour la conduire où elle veut aller,
Tends-lui la main et d'un humble parler
En t'inclinant prie que Dieu la garde.

. . . . . .

CONCLUSION.

Efforts have been made from time to time to establish the existence of a Pléiade at Toulouse. While there may have been no school there with conscious and definite reforms in mind concerning the language and poetry in general, there was a group actively engaged in working out the new ideas of the Renaissance, either men who were followers of the Pléiade of the north or who worked independently of them. The ideas of the Pléiade were immediately taken up by Bernard de Poey. Robert Garnier received his poetic inspiration at Toulouse, and it was there that he published his first volume of verse. Du Bartas and Pibrac stand out as genuine contributors to the literature of the Renaissance, and are complements of the Pléiade. Pierre de Brach was a very successful follower of the Pléiade, and made a definite contribution to the poetic ideas of the time by using a series of *sonnets* as a vehicle for satire.[103] Pierre Le Loyer was a graceful and rather prolific poet. A semblance of a school is seen in the close friendship of Du Bartas, Brach and Pierre de Dampmartin. Thus, we find contemporary with the Pléiade of the north, at least seven poets at Toulouse working at new ideas, either making direct contributions or spreading the ideas of the Pléiade. In addition to this, the Floral Games

[103] In must be admitted, however, that in the expression of satire in the *sonnet*, Brach was foreshadowed by Du Bellay.

exercised a stimulating influence on the students of the university, and many of these after leaving Toulouse spread throughout France an interest in and love for poetry. In considering the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in France, it is impossible to arrive at a complete understanding of the history of poetry without taking into consideration the influence of the Floral Games of Toulouse. The poetry of the south has long been neglected and affords a fine field of research.

In conclusion, it may be well to sum up the growth of poetry in both the north and south of France. There is a striking parallel in its growth in the two parts of the country. The following outline in parallel columns may be of use in comparing the two sections:

CENTURY	NORTH FRANCE.	SOUTH FRANCE.
XII	Crude civilization. Heroic poetry. Trouvères and Jongleurs.	Advanced civilization. Lyric poetry. Troubadours and Joglars.
XIII	Decline of Heroic Poetry. Rise of the middle class.	Decline of Lyric Poetry. Rise of the middle class.
XIV	Poetry becomes Rhetoric; the poets Rhetoricians, guided by books of rules, or Arts of Rhetoric.	Poetry becomes *Amor,* or Gay Science; the poets *Fins Amants,* guided by the rules of the *Leys d'Amors.*
XV	Decline of Rhetoric at the end of century.	Decline of Gay Science at the end of the century.
XVI Before 1550.	Spread of Rhetoric in the decadence; multiplication of Rhetoricians.	Adoption of Rhetoricians as models, together with their books as guides. Gay Science becomes College of the Art and Science of Rhetoric. *Leys d' Amors* succeeded by *Art et Science de Rhétorique.*
After 1550.	Rise of the Pléiade. Successful imitation of the masterpieces of antiquity.	Immediate influence of the Pléiade. Attraction of general philosophical and scientific ideas of the Renaissance. The Rhetorician form and spirit modified by these two forces.
After 1665.		Direct contributions to the new literature by Du Bartas, Pibrac, and Brach.
XVII First half	Formation of the classical ideal.	Profound influence of the Pléiade upon the content and language of the *chant royal.*

Second half	Perfecting of the classical ideal.	Reorganization of the College of Rhetoric into the Academy of the Floral Games by Louis XIV in 1694. Adoption of the classical ideal. *Chant royal* displaced by odes, elegies, sonnets, etc.

PART II

UNIVERSITY AND STUDENT LIFE AT TOULOUSE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The Mediæval Period

IN what is now the south of France the intellectual renaissance of the thirteenth century found expression in a revival of the primitive Christian philosophy known as Manicheism.[1] It is not necessary to enter into an exposition of the philosophical aspects of this teaching; let it suffice to say that in its practical bearings it was subversive of the interests of the church as then constituted; out of it grew an aggressive movement whose aim was to throw off the yoke of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and whose leaders appealed to the people somewhat as follows: "Cease to obey the pope and other prelates of the Catholic church; the priests have no authority

[1] "The origin of the heresy is very obscure; some historians believe it to have been an importation from the Paulicians of the Balkan peninsula, others would even retrace it to the ancient Gnostics and Manichees of early Christian times. Nor is it easy to define the creed of the heretics with an exactitude: the Manichæanism of the South of France was rather a vague general belief than a body of precisely formulated doctrine. At any rate, it was based primarily upon an absolute distinction between spirit and matter; on the one hand was the perfectly good and spiritual being, namely God, who was the creator of the spiritual world: on the other hand was the creator of the material world, Satan, entirely bad and opposed to God. Thus much the various sects had in common with all dualism, though in detail they often disagreed. Man had been originally pure spirit, the creation of God: but Satan seduced him, gave him a material body, and the pleasures of possessing property and of reproducing his species. Christ was the Holy Spirit under the form of man, and came to teach the world by what means it might free itself from the trammels of matter, and again becoming spirit recover its pristine goodness. This was to be done by turning the mind from the material to the spiritual world, and by renouncing the pleasures of marriage and of earthly possessions, as tending to prolong the reign of Satan. He who succeeded in this renunciation became *perfectus* and entered at once into the spiritual kingdom upon his death. The Church of Rome, which was given over to luxury, was naturally in the power of Satan and was to be combated in every possible way."—H. J. Chaytor, *The Troubadours of Dante,* Oxford, 1901, p. xvi.

over you; the laity and even women have a right to preach the gospel; such is the desire of the master of heaven and earth; prayers of the faithful and good works bring no aid to the dead; there is no purgatory, and the soul as soon as it has left the body goes straight to heaven or hell. . . ."[2]

This dangerous heresy spread, not among the masses only; it found its staunchest supporters among the nobility. Inasmuch as it centered in the see of Albi it came to be known as the Albigensian heresy. Toulouse was its stronghold, and Raymond VI, count of Toulouse, became the chief defender and protector of the Albigenses. Pope Innocent III determined to crush this heresy, which threatened the very life of the church. He sought the aid of the king of France. The latter, with an eye to the acquisition of further territory, consented to aid him. In 1213, an army was sent down from the north under the leadership of Simon de Montfort, who met the forces of Raymond VI and his ally, Peter of Aragon, at Muret, near Toulouse, and decisively defeated them. Peter of Aragon was slain on the field, and the forces of Raymond lost courage and fled.

The battle of Muret added the dominions of the counts of Toulouse to the French crown, and the campaign against the heretics destroyed the splendid civilization which had been built up on the ruins of the old Roman *provincia*. Toulouse, which had been a heavy sufferer, became the object of special attention from the pope, who desired that it should become an orthodox Catholic city. With this end in view, he determined to found a *studium generale* (the term used before the introduction of the word "university"), which should be a sort of spiritual garrison in the stronghold of the conquered land of heresy.[3] Hitherto, the *studia generalia* had

[2] Cayla et Perrin-Paviot: *Histoire de Toulouse*, p. 324.

[3] Rashdall: Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1895; vol. ii, part 1, p. 159. See also Deloume: *Aperçu historique sur la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Toulouse*, Toulouse, Privat, 1900.

The treaty of 1228–29 between Blanche of Castille and Raymond VII, Count of Toulouse, included a clause according to which Raymond was required to support a certain number of professors:

"Item quatuor millia marcharum deputabuntur ab ipso Raimundo duobus magistris theologiæ, duobus decretistis, sex magistris liberalium artium, et duobus magistris grammaticis regentibus Tolosæ. . . ."

sprung up spontaneously in several countries of Europe, so the *founding* of the university of Toulouse is an important landmark in the history of the university idea of the middle ages. The foundation at Toulouse was to be specially devoted to the maintenance of the Catholic faith and the extirpation of heresy.

"In the north of France," says Rashdall, "where culture was more theological and more ecclesiastical than it was in the south, the intellectualism of the age was on the whole of a far less bold and destructive character than in the south of France with its educated laity, its sceptical troubadours, and its peculiarly indolent and ignorant clergy: it was determined, therefore, to build up a seminary of ecclesiastical learning upon the ruins of the vernacular and secular culture of Languedoc." The spirit of inquiry and bold speculation, which had made great advances at Paris, was to be avoided at Toulouse by the careful choice of teachers.[4] Dominican influence was paramount in the shaping of the new university and the policy of the order was to direct education, not to suppress it. By a careful choice of teachers and by close supervision and guidance the university of Toulouse became in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a stronghold of mediæval thought.

Few of the French universities possessed all four of the mediæval faculties,—theology, law, letters, and medicine,—and those that did were known to be more prominent in some one of them than in all. Paris was famous for theology, Montpellier for medicine, Orléans and Toulouse for the law.[5] And while Toulouse had all four faculties, it was in the study of canon and civil law that the

Basing his opinion upon this clause, Deloume states that the founding of the university was not an act of intolerance or fanaticism, but that it was a work prompted by motives of "haute politique, de propagande française parfaitement loyale et habile."

[4] When in 1229 the "great dispersion" (due to "town and gown" differences) of the University of Paris occurred, professors and students alike found their way to other universities. Some of the professors from Paris were among the first teachers at Toulouse, one of them being Jean de Garland, who remained there for two years.

[5] "La Papauté se préoccupait bien plus des Facultés de Droit que de celles de Médicine ou même des Arts, a raison de la nature de l'enseignement juridique, qui intéressait non moins le spirituel que le temporel, dans les questions religieuses ou morales." Deloume, *op. cit.*, p. 14. Five of the Popes had been either students or professors in the faculty of law at Toulouse: Clement IV, John XXII, Benoit XII, Innocent VI, and Urban V.

university acquired its wide renown. Toulouse was with reference to the south what Orléans was to the north. Although the university at Toulouse became favorably known far and wide, it is hardly probable that the special epithet which came to be applied to it is justified. In referring to the earlier history of this institution writers have taken pride in calling it *famosa.* According to Marchand,[6] any university in which there existed a genuine *studium generale* was known as *famosa.* Thus the word was used of other universities in France and had no particular significance as applied to Toulouse. Its origin seems to go back to the early days of the university of Bologna when the students were first allowed civil rights. The body of students (*universitas*) was *famosa* when it had been granted civil rights. Any individual student or any group of students who came under the ban was outlawed, and thus became *infamous.* In the beginning the term probably had no other meaning at Toulouse.

That Toulouse centered on the study of canon and civil law was due to the changing political and social movements of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The growth of the parlements naturally stimulated interest in legal studies and the parlement offered a sure road of preferment to ambitious youths. A knowledge of canon law was a stepping-stone to advancement in the church. With the decay of the old feudal ideals and the rise and growth of commerce and banking, there came a shift in the direction of the leveling of classes. The sons of nobles, forced to find new avenues of activity, chose a career in the church, parlement or university, as less degrading than the vulgar pursuit of commerce.[7] The more

[6] *L'Université d'Avignon,* p. 5. The words of the text are as follows: "En revanche, elle admet à l'agrégation . . . les gradués des autres Universités 'fameuses,' c'est-à-dire des Universités où existait un véritable *studium generale.*" F. Bélin's *Histoire de l'ancienne Université de Provence* has as a subtitle, *Histoire de la fameuse Université d'Aix.* In a footnote, the author makes the following explanation: "L'Université fameuse est celle, comme dit Rebuffe, in qua celebres doctores frequentes legunt cum magno numero qui præbent favorem Universitati, ou, comme dit Bengeus, in qua publica floret scientiarum professio et exercitatio." Rashdall (*Universities of the Middle Ages,* vol. i, p. 173), in speaking of the University of Bologna, says: ". . . the scholars for non-compliance with the demands of the citizens, were placed under the ban of the city, by which they became 'infamous,' lost their civil rights and were liable to the confiscation of all their goods."

[7] La Roche Flavin (p. 443 of *Les treize Livres des Parlemens de France,*

favored of the *bourgeoisie* acquired as it were a sort of title to nobility through their accumulation of wealth, and their sons sought to ascend a step higher by seeking preferment in the church, parlement or university. To the nobleman this was a step down, to the *bourgeois* a step up, but it brought men together in bonds of common interest, extended greatly the popularity of education and paved the way for the splendid intellectual and spiritual efflorescence of the sixteenth century.

By the sixteenth century, the parlements[8] had acquired a promi-

1621) relates of a man who had acquired the rank of *conseiller,* that when he applied for his seat there was doubt as to whether he was eligible to sit in the parlement because of the fact that he had been a "merchant"—keeping a shop and making mercantile journeys to Lyons, Paris, Flanders and England, with the additional discredit of having delivered merchandise in person to the homes of some of the men with whom he would be associated in the parlement. Since the law classed merchants as *viles negotiatores,* it was considered beneath the dignity of the parlement to admit them into its ranks. The case, however, was decided in favor of the applicant because of extenuating circumstances. He was of good family, educated, had his university degrees, and years before had given up his business of merchant. In other words, he had redeemed himself.

[8] La Roche Flavin (*Les treize Livres des Parlemens de France,* 1621, p. 3) gives the origin of the parlements as follows: "The parlements were formerly the assemblies of princes, officers of the crown, prelates, and the great lords and notable persons of the church and of the nobility of the kingdom, called to deliberate upon affairs of state, and to mete out justice for the crown to the subjects of the same; and which by command, authority, or permission of our kings were held once, twice or three times a year, according to the urgency of affairs, in a certain place designated and published throughout the kingdom two months in advance of the day set; in order that each one who had business with these parlements should know the place and the day on which they should be there; and to get ready for the journey. Over these parlements presided most often our kings, assisted by the aforesaid nobles and by the majority of their barons (who were then the greatest lords), and gave audience and response, both to their subjects and to ambassadors who came from foreign lands. In this place were decided all affairs which were of any consequence to the kingdom. There were received the oaths of fidelity (*foi & hommages*) of foreign princes; there were terminated the differences of the greatest princes and lords, and especially of those who were accused of treasons, rebellions, and crimes of *lèse-majesté:* together with the questions and controversies engaged in between the bishops and abbots, or among themselves; and the processes which were between our kings and their dukes, counts and barons; or dukes, counts and barons among themselves, or with their subjects." The author adds that cases involving the lower classes (*simples et bas subiects*) with each other were put into the hands of the bailiffs and seneschals.

nent place in the political life of France and afforded employment to a large number of officials. The parlement offered a wide variety of careers, from that of simple clerk up to first president. Hence it made a broad appeal to all kinds and conditions of men,—nobles, ecclesiastics, and commoners; and not only was the parlement attractive to men of action, but to those of quiet, studious habits as well, and more often than not the higher officials of the parlements were men of solid intellectual attainments, adding to the brilliant culture of the Renaissance. So, with the growth of the parlements arose the office-holding class, which has been aptly styled a Fourth Estate, recruited from the ranks of the other three. The influence of this growing caste of office holders under the king contributed largely to the final triumph of royalty. Through the official class, one part of the nation aided the king to govern the rest, thus leading the country towards absolutism.[9]

Toulouse possessed during the mediæval period some very able teachers, among whom it may be of interest to mention Raymond Sabonde, who is still remembered because of Montaigne's translation and *Apology*.[10] The scholastic method which prevailed everywhere was handled skilfully by the professors. The teaching and study of jurisprudence was based on the Pandects of Justinian, interpreted by authors whose commentaries, more or less diffuse, terminated generally in the most subtle conclusions. The favorite authors were Accursius and Barthola. The professor began his lesson

In summing up the range of the duties of the parlements, La Roche Flavin says that they covered the affairs of justice among the great, matters concerning war, peace, and finances. He also says that while these primitive parlements must be considered the beginning of the later fixed parlement at Paris, the first fixed or settled parlement of France was that of Toulouse, which originally had jurisdiction over the whole breadth of South France, but was later divided when the parlements of Provence and Bordeaux were established. The parlement at Toulouse was always the second in importance in the kingdom, ranking only after the parlement of Paris. The parlements existed until the French Revolution, at which time they passed away with the other vestiges of the *ancien régime*.

[9] Dupont-Ferrier: *Le Fonctionnarisme en France à la fin du moyen âge.*

[10] The work which Montaigne translated at his father's request, was the *Theologia naturalis*, a theological and metaphysical work based on Saint Thomas Aquinas, written in Latin diluted with Spanish expressions. Raymond Sabonde was a Catalonian who studied at Toulouse and was afterwards called there to a professorate, apparently in the Faculty of Medicine.

or lecture by reading from the commentary that he wished to teach; he would then proceed by successive syllogisms to arrive at the rigorous solution of the various questions which presented themselves as the subject developed; his demonstrations were made in Latin,—not of course in the pure Latin of antiquity, but in Latin as it had come to be after centuries of vicissitude during the middle ages. In adapting Latin to the ever changing and growing needs of mediæval society, the men of that period had added to the original stock a host of technical terms and phrases which were lacking in the earlier speech. In this manner the language became overloaded, and by the sixteenth century it could be truthfully said that the master confused the understanding of his pupils without enlightening their minds.

In proportion as the principle of secular government grew in France the authority of the church decreased,[11] until there came a moment when the church and the parlement seemed to counterbalance each other in authority at Toulouse, after which the parlement forged ahead and became paramount in the middle of the sixteenth century. The growth of the parlements was a factor of capital importance in the history of France. The provincial parlements grew supreme in their influence in the respective provinces and all looked up to the parlement of Paris. So that when in the seventeenth century a Richelieu came into power he found an instrument ready at hand for furthering the principle of centralized government and the absolute authority of the king; and once recognized, the theory of absolutism attained a rapid growth, reaching its height in the reign of Louis XIV.

The Sixteenth Century

The shifting political conditions of the sixteenth century were unfavorable to the university of Toulouse. In the first half of

[11] "Autrefois la puissance illimités des papes les dispensait de se plier à un plan de gouvernement, et d'avoir les égards dus aux rois. Ils parlaient, on s'empressait; ils commandaient, on obéïssait. L'abus du pouvoir en est toujours l'écueil. On commença à distinguer le prince du pontife; on le respectait mais on le redoutait moins. Dès le temps de Louis XI, la cour de Rome n'osait plus hasarder témérairement ses entreprises. Elle employait des mesures, concertait ses desseins, et la diminution de sa puissance donna naissance à sa politique."—Duclos, *Œuvres* (1820), tome 2e, *Histoire de Louis XI*, p. 5.

the century the various social and political forces were in a struggle for precedence. The church, the university, the seneschalty, the *capitoulat*[12] or mayoralty, and the parlement were all

[12] In the sixteenth century Toulouse was presided over by eight aldermen known as capitouls, chosen annually, one from each of the eight wards or districts of the city. The city government or mayoralty was known as the *capitoulat.* The office of capitoul was a very ancient one. Concerning its origin, Cayla in his *Histoire de Toulouse* (p. 287), says that the oldest monument in which the capitouls are mentioned is a set of regulations drawn up by the reigning count, Raymond V, in 1152. In this document they were called *capitulaires,* and later came to be called capitouls from the word *capitulum,* chapter or assembly of the *bons bourgeois* of Toulouse. The number of them varied through the centuries: twenty-four, twelve, and finally eight. For a long time the capitouls of Toulouse not only governed the city, but had the right to appoint notaires *ubique terrarum.* The wide range of their jurisdiction aroused the jealousy of the seneschalty, and in the fourteenth century, partly due to the influence of the seneschal and his subordinates, and partly due to a severe penalty inflicted by the capitouls on a student of the university, all but local powers were taken away from the capitouls, and their number reduced to eight. In 1330 a capitoul, accompanied by some of his friends and a soldier of the *guet* or police force, met a crowd of armed students. The students set up their war cry: "ambor! ambor! firest! firest!" and attacked the capitoul, who was badly wounded by one of them named Aymeric Berenger. The culprit was tried, and condemned to make the circuit of the town attached to the tail of a horse, going from the town hall to the home of the wounded capitoul. From there he was dragged to the forked gibbet of the Château de Narbonnais, where his head was cut off, exposed, together with the body, on the forks of the gibbet, and his goods were confiscated. The relatives of Berenger took up his case and carried it before the parlement of Paris, where it became a *cause célèbre.* The relatives of Berenger prosecuted the capitouls on the ground that he being a student they had no jurisdiction over him, and that they had violated the safeguard of the king and the special immunity granted to students of the university by the crown. The capitouls were shorn of much of their power. They were compelled to give satisfaction to the university and to remove the body of Berenger, which was still hanging to the gibbet (doubtless by that time a skeleton), and to give it suitable and honorable burial. From this date the importance of the capitouls steadily declined. Like the parlements, they were swept away in the cataclysm of the French Revolution. The expiation of the capitouls for the execution of Berenger came three years after the deed. In giving satisfaction to the university they were compelled to make the *amende honorable,* a ceremony which was at all times humiliating. In one of the churches near the town hall, a funeral service was celebrated in honor of Berenger. The church was draped in mourning. The professors and students were present in a body. The capitouls and the heads of the first families of Toulouse were compelled to attend the service. After mass had been said the city fathers repaired to the university, where they made the *amende honorable* and protested their regret at the death of Berenger.

HOTEL DE PIERRE

A Renaissance Building Erected by François de Clary, First President in the Parlement of Toulouse

engaged in a struggle: the church to regain its supremacy, the university to retain its ancient privileges, the capitouls or aldermen to retain their prestige, the seneschalty to hold undisputed sway in the Palais de Justice. As for the rivalry between the seneschalty and the parlement, it was a case of "youth must be served," and the symbol of the transcendent victory of the parlement was its entry in 1555 into the Palais de Justice.

While the university of Toulouse enjoyed a period of great prosperity in the first flush of the Renaissance, shortly after the middle of the century it had reached its zenith, and soon began to decline; and its decline was hastened by the bitter struggles of the civil and religious wars. To such an extent had the university declined by the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century that there was difficulty in retaining the professors. In the year 1627, the proposed resignation of the rector in favor of the smaller university of Cahors became the subject of grave deliberation on the part of the capitouls. As early as 1598 a rector Cabot had set forth in a meeting of the capitouls the lamentable situation, regretting the loss of several of the professors who had gone to Cahors, Pont-à-Mousson and elsewhere.

In the earlier sixteenth century the universities of Europe enjoyed an unprecedented era of prosperity, and in many of them the number of students was tremendously increased. Toulouse was no exception to the general rule, and it is claimed that at this time there were no fewer than six hundred professors and ten thousand students. A royal decree issued at Nantes by Henry II in 1551 proclaimed Toulouse the best university in the kingdom for the study of jurisprudence.[13] But if the first half of the sixteenth cen-

As they knelt before the rector, several thousand students took up in unison the cry: "All honor and glory to the university of Toulouse and to the wise dispensations of the Bazoche!"—Cayla et Perrin-Paviot, *Histoire de Toulouse,* p. 449.

[13] "Néantmoins en nostre université de Thoulouse, qui, de tout temps & ancienneté, a esté pour les interprétations & estude de la jurisprudence la plus fleurissante & la plus fameuse de nostre royaulme. . . ."—Devic et Vaissette: *Histoire générale de Languedoc,* vol. 12, p. 553.

"Dès longtemps, on disait de l'Université de Toulouse qu'elle était l'école des plus grands magistrats et des premiers hommes d'état, et le proverbe répétait à son tour:

tury was the most brilliant era in its history, it was also one of its most troubled periods. In addition to the political and social struggles which have been mentioned, the university was in a constant battle with war, famine, pestilence, the religious differences, and the clashes between humanism and barbarity, as scholasticism came to be called. In the face of the threatened invasion of Charles V, king of Spain, the students of the university flew to arms, only too eager for the clash of weapons and the spice of adventure; the spirit of religious reform early found its way into the university ranks, infecting both teachers and students: Jehan de Boysson,[14] the brilliant humanist and professor of civil law, was forced to make public abjuration of his errors; two other professors, Mathieu du Pac and Otho, sought refuge in Italy; another, Jean de Caturce, made of the stuff from which martyrs are sprung, paid the penalty for his boldness and steadfastness at the stake; and when in 1534 Cardinal Grammont made his entry into Toulouse it was thought a befitting feature of his entertainment to burn at the stake a "blasphemous" student. Literary battles took place between the humanists led by Boysson, Étienne Dolet, Voulté, Jean de Coras, and others; and the reactionaries led by Blaise d'Auriol and Gracien du Pont; the last two as well as Boysson, and later Coras, being mainteneurs of the Floral Games. The students were almost constantly engaged in *rixes,* now fighting among themselves, now combining against the police and the people of the town.

Notwithstanding, then, the turbulent state of the times, the university of Toulouse had for a season a brilliant career, attracting to its halls of learning the youth of France and many foreign lands. There were in the century of the Renaissance sixteen autonomous universities in France: Paris, Toulouse, Montpellier, Avignon, Or-

> 'Paris pour voir,
> Lyon pour avoir,
> Bordeaux pour dispendre
> Et Toulouse pour apprendre.'"—Deloume, *op. cit.,* p. 8.

[14] Boysson was the first at Toulouse to attempt to teach law by the historical method, in contrast with the prevailing scholastic method of teaching by commentaries and dialectics. He was persecuted, forced to recant, and then returned to the traditional method of presenting law. He was a poet and wrote Latin and French poems, the latter consisting principally of *dixains.*

léans, Cahors, Angers, Grenoble, Orange, Dôle, Poitiers, Caen, Valence, Bourges, Bordeaux and Nîmes. Before the year 1600 there were more than a hundred universities scattered through Europe. Many of these universities had constant relations with one another. In the educational world, as well as in the world of letters generally, national barriers were broken down and cosmopolitanism reigned supreme. In spite of the difficulties of communication, due to the absence of well-established systems of highways and public means of transportation, humanist regents or professors met often and were well acquainted with one another. They were bound together in a sort of free masonry; they passed from one university to another with astonishing ease and rapidity; students in large numbers arrived from various countries to sit at the feet of a celebrated master, and certainly the more ambitious among them felt that they had not sufficiently rounded their education if they had not journeyed to some foreign country seeking instruction from some regent renowned for his attainments and eloquence.[15] In explaining the unprecedentedly large numbers in attendance upon the various universities during the Renaissance, the migrations of students from one university to another must be taken into account.[16] Because of its wide reputation, the mildness of the climate, and its geographical location on the main highways of travel leading from the ocean to the Mediterranean, and from Spain to the countries of the north, Toulouse enjoyed a wide popularity, and the streets of the town must have presented a variegated and animated appearance as throngs of students passed to and fro, drawn hither from all the provinces of France and from many other lands.

Of the four faculties, those of theology and medicine had small influence. The faculty of letters, while it was overshadowed by that of law, had some brilliant teachers and attracted a large num-

[15] R. de Boysson: *Un Humaniste toulousain,* Jehan de Boysson, p. 24, Paris, Picard, 1913.

[16] Il n'y avait que peu de livres, pas du tout de journaux ou de revues, ni aucun moyen semblable à notre poste, pour assurer la circulation des hommes et des choses. Et c'est ce qui explique non seulement les voyages, mais aussi le nombre vraiment étonnant des jeunes gens. . . . Les universités d'ailleurs et les moyens d'instruction étaient beaucoup moins nombreux que de nos jours. C'est là qu'était la vogue.—Deloume, *op. cit.,* p. 104.

ber of the youth, particularly from places outside of France. Among its teachers was the celebrated Guillaume Budé.[17] The faculty of law had the greatest prestige and attracted by far the largest number of students.[18] While Toulouse may not have occupied the front rank in the humanistic movement, it had the glory of producing the immortal Cujas, who sat at the feet of Arnauld Ferrier and imbibed the new spirit that enabled him to become the Father of Modern Law. The roster of the students included names that were destined to occupy places of the highest importance. Michel de l'Hôpital, who afterwards became chancellor of France; Étienne Dolet, the printer; Arnoul Ferron, the eminent jurist of Bordeaux; Guy du Faur, sieur de Pibrac, author of the *Quatrains,* ambassador of Charles IX to Poland and chancellor of the Queen of Navarre; Mathieu de Chalvet, first president of the parlement of Toulouse and translator of Seneca; Étienne Pasquier, parlementaire and author of the *Recherches;* François Habert, who became the official poet at the court of the king of France; Robert Garnier, the dramatist; Du Bartas, the greatest of the Protestant writers, and during his life time rival of Ronsard; Pierre de Brach, the poet and friend of Montaigne,[19] and a legion of others who became more or less celebrated, were students at Toulouse, and added brilliancy to it as a seat of learning.

One of the most marked features of the Renaissance was the intense ardor and activity of the youth in pursuit of learning. The content of human knowledge, it need not be said, was much narrower in the sixteenth century than it is at the present day, and the prevailing ambition of the times was to know all that there was to be known. The *uomo universale* of the Italians became the ideal in every land.[20] Claude Binet, in his life of Pierre de Ronsard, notes

[17] Budé (born 1467, died 1540) was the leading humanist of the reign of Francis I. He influenced the king to found the royal college for the study of the ancient languages. This institution still exists as the *Collège de France.* He became "master of the king's library" at Fontainebleau, and was instrumental in making the famous collection of Greek manuscripts which the king purchased for this library.

[18] By the middle of the sixteenth century four thousand students were in attendance on the lectures of Jean de Coras.

[19] It is even thought that Montaigne himself may have studied at Toulouse.

[20] Parallel with this thirst for universal knowledge, prevailed the desire for

the sacrificial attitude toward study on the part of Ronsard and his friend Baïf: "Ronsard," he says, "who had been brought up at the court, accustomed to late rising, would stay up studying for two or three hours after midnight, then upon retiring would awaken Baïf, who would get up and take the candle, and prevent the seat from growing cold." The strenuous program of the students at Toulouse is brought out in a letter from Henri de Mesmes to his father:

"We were in the habit of rising at four o'clock in the morning, and after prayers, would go at five o'clock to the lecture halls carrying our inkhorns and candle-sticks in our hands. We listened to all the lectures until ten o'clock without interruption; then we would go to dinner after having hastily compared what we had written down. After dinner, we were in the habit of reading, as a sort of sport, Sophocles or Aristophanes or Euripides, sometimes Demosthenes, Virgil, Horace, Cicero."

Rabelais in his book places Gargantua under the instruction of Panocrates and describes the process of instruction by means of which the waking hours of the hero are completely filled with profitable reading and study. Gargantua rises at four o'clock in the morning.

"Whilst they were in rubbing of him, there was read unto him some chapter of the holy Scripture aloud and clearly. . . . According to the purpose and argument of that lesson, he oftentimes gave himself to worship, adore, pray, and send up his supplications to that good God, whose Word did show his majesty and marvellous judgment. . . . Then for three good hours he had a *lecture* read unto him. . . . At the beginning of the meal there was read some pleasant history of the warlike actions of former times, until he had taken a glass of wine. Then, if

fame or glory. Knowledge was the handmaiden through whose service fame or glory was to be attained. This ideal was common to all lands affected by the Renaissance, and the literature of the period is permeated with it. In a secondary sense, the immortal work of Cervantes is a reflection of this state of mind, which prevailed among the men of the Renaissance in every country of western Europe. In the first chapter of his book, just as his hero is starting out on his journeys of knight-errantry, the Spanish author puts into the mouth of Don Quijote the following words: "Happy the age, fortunate the century, in which shall come to light my famous deeds, worthy of being carved in bronze, sculptured in marble, and painted on tablets for remembrance in the future."—*Translated from centenary edition of Don Quijote,* 1905.

[21] Claude Binet: *Vie de Ronsard.*

they thought good, they continued reading. . . . By means whereof he learned in a little time all the passages competent for this, that were to be found in Pliny, Athenæus, Dioscoirdes, Julius Pollox, Galen, Porphyry, Oppian, Polybius, Heliodore, Aristotle, Ælian, and others."[23]

Elsewhere in his book, Rabelais sends Pantagruel on a round of the universities of France. From Bordeaux, Pantagruel

"came to Toulouse, where he learned to dance very well, and to play with the two-handed sword, as the fashion of the scholars of the said university is to bestir themselves in games, whereof they have their hands full."

While the daily routine at Toulouse may have been severe, student life was not without its diversions, as we may infer both from the words of Rabelais and from the testimony of the secretary's book of the nation of Provence at Toulouse in the sixteenth century,[24] in which it is stated that the students were not so wrapped up in study that they did not find time to devote to the exercise of the sword, dancing, frequenting good society, and cultivating all of the pursuits proper to well-trained youth.

One of the favorite diversions of the students was to invade private homes where there was in progress a dance or other form of amusement. By their presence as uninvited guests they either destroyed the joy of the occasion or perhaps entirely broke up the entertainment. They had a particular fondness for wedding feasts, and more than once brought down the wrath of the parlement upon their heads for intruding upon wedding festivities to which they had

[23] English translation of Urquhart and Motteux, Book 1, chap. 23.

[24] The title of this unique record is: *Livre des choses advenues à la très noble et très antique nation de Provence depuis l'an 1558.* It was discovered by Ad. Baudouin in the Jesuit Monastery at Toulouse, partially copied and reproduced under the title of: *Les Écoliers provençaux à l'Université de Toulouse* (1558–1630) in the *Mémoires de l'Académie de Toulouse,* 9° sér. 2, 1890. The original manuscript was lost track of when, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Jesuits were expelled from Toulouse. The passage referred to above runs as follows:

"Il n'y a personne qui ne sache que messieurs les escoliers estants dans Tholose ne sont point si adonnés à l'estude qu'ils laissent pour cela de faire tous les jours de belles parties, ou pour avoir les armes bien en main, danser des mieux et se trouver aux meilleures compagnies, et avoir toutes les autres qualités èsquelles une honneste jeunesse a acoustumé d'employer le temps et les moyens, etc.," p. 514.

not been invited, causing that august body to enact decrees prohibiting students from troubling by their insolence and disorder weddings or banquets among the townspeople, whether by day or by night, under penalty of expulsion from the university and the payment of an arbitrary fine.[25] The *Annales manuscrites* of the city of Toulouse give an account of five students arrested for disorders at balls, who were led before an accusing parlement with their feet in irons and accompanied by the whole company of the watch or *guet*.[26]

Tennis and billiards were considered such debauching forms of exercise that the capitouls of 1542 suppressed the tennis courts and billiard halls in the neighborhood of the university. However wholesome such games may be considered to-day, it must be remembered that in the sixteenth century monastic traditions had not entirely decayed, and physical exercises and most forms of amusement were still under the ban. In fact, the conditions of the times generally are reflected in the life of the students. The century of the Renaissance was a curious medley of mediæval practices and modernistic impulses. There was struggle, often mixed with brutality and violence, but on the other hand there existed a fine fellowship, noble impulses and lofty ideals. The world of the students reflected the state of society at large; and while the stern repression of an earlier period may have been relieved, it had not been wholly displaced. In the earlier history of the university the life of the students had been minutely regulated, even to the matter of dress. The price, cut, quantity and quality of goods to be used, the form of the sleeves, the color, and all other details of the student costume were prescribed, and they were forbidden to wear clothing that was too luxurious and effeminate, improper or indecent. We may wonder what sort of dress the adjectives imply, but the answer is to be found in a decree passed by the parlement as late as 1572 commanding the students to wear decent and suitable clothing and proscribing

[25] . . . forcer les portes des maisons où lesd. nopces et banquets seront faits . . . et aulcunement se y ingérer s'ils n'y sont expressément appelez et conviez."—R. Gadave: *Documents sur l'histoire de l'Université de Toulouse* (p. 169), Toulouse, Privat, 1910.

[26] Gadave, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

"robes, cassocks, cloaks and *chausses*[27] of a color red, yellow, green or blue." [28]

The Nations

The student life of the sixteenth century was a strange combination of repression, arduous routine, boisterousness and unbridled license. The students at Toulouse, says Dubédat,[29] were known throughout the world as *good* students in contrast with the tennis players of Poitiers, the dancers of Orléans, the braggarts of Angers, the companions of loose women of Paris, the pimps of Pavia and the gallants of Turin. At Toulouse, as in the European universities of the period generally, student life found its expression in the nations (fraternities founded upon nationality), which had sprung into existence with the birth of the mediæval universities. In the beginning, the universities had been nothing more than large groups of young men banded together for the pursuit of learning, and grouped according to the nation or province from which they came. They were self governing, electing their own teachers, head (rector), and other officers. In the course of time these groups of students came under outside control, and as soon as this change occurred the university assumed the form which it has since in general preserved.

Toulouse was founded at the close of the heroic age of the universities. Oxford, Paris, Bologna, had gradually assumed shape; and when finally they had arrived at a definitive form, they became the models on which other universities were founded. In addition to these primitive universities, there was another group which sprang up during the heroic age as offshoots of those above mentioned. Such for example is Cambridge, which was formed by a migration of students from Oxford. When the university idea had become clearly defined, the period of the establishment of universities began. Toulouse was one of the earliest of those of the second

[27] Chausse de l'université, ornement garni d'hermine que ceux qui ont quelques degrés dans l'une des facultés, portent sur l'épaule gauche.—Littré et Beaujean: *Dictionnaire de la langue française.*

[28] Gadave, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

[29] *Histoire du Parlement de Toulouse,* vol. 1, p. 142. Paris, Arthur Rousseau, éditeur, 1885.

group, and the first of the kind in France. It was fashioned more or less closely after the university of Paris and became the direct model upon which the universities subsequently founded in France were established.

As stated above, the university of Toulouse was organized by the popes as a bulwark against the progress and inroads of heresy, "a sort of fortress constructed in a hostile country, wherein to shelter and protect the orthodox faithful."[30] This idea of establishing educational centers to combat heresy was repeated in the sixteenth century, when, in seeking to combat the Reformation, the Jesuit universities were founded, as, for example, that of Pont-à-Mousson mentioned previously.

Since Toulouse from the beginning was under outside control, the life of the "nations" there had a different development from the older universities, and the students had comparatively little voice in the university's administration and management.[31] This control of the students passed through three successive stages. In the beginning they were under the authority of the pope, or rather more directly under the supervision of his representatives in Toulouse. With the growth of the influence and authority of the king of France, the general discipline of the students fell to the seneschal and his officers. Later, in the sixteenth century, with the rise to supreme power of the parlement, the students were under the direct control of that body. The capitouls always had a share, although a secondary one, in the discipline of the students. The parlement appears to have begun to assert its authority over them about the year 1470.[32] From this time on for a certain period there was a fierce struggle between the parlement and the students, which did not result in a total victory for the former, as the students persisted in maintaining their fraternities or "nations" in spite of repeated efforts of the parlement to disband them. In the beginning, the students had been granted certain exemptions and privileges, and

[30] Compayré: *Abelard*, p. 41. N. Y., Scribner, 1893.

[31] At the head of the university was the Rector, chosen every three months and "pris successivement parmi les légistes, les canonistes, les logiciens et les grammairiens. Le recteur était assisté d'un conseil où les étudiants furent toujours représentés."—Deloume, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

[32] Gadave, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

the successive changes of control were marked by strenuous efforts on their part to retain these ancient rights. Thus, the miniature world of the students was a replica of the larger political world about them.

Reorganization of the Nations

Inasmuch as the university of Toulouse had been founded after the university idea had reached a certain stage of development, the purpose of the nations was no doubt much more restricted there than in the earlier universities. While the nations existed at Toulouse during the mediæval period, they did not apparently have the place of importance enjoyed by those at Paris.[33] Evidently a reorganization of the nations at Toulouse took place in 1523, and they were probably remodelled after the *Confrérie* or Brotherhood of Saint Sebastian of the university of Avignon.[33] There is considerable similarity between the organization and purposes of this society and that of the nation of Provence at Toulouse. Before going further it may be well to devote a moment to the fraternity at Avignon.

The university of Avignon, founded in 1303 to combat heresy, was, like Toulouse, predominantly a school of law. About the middle of the fifteenth century the law students formed a corporation which was essentially charitable and religious called the *Confrérie de Saint-Sébastien,* and which at first included only the law students of the university.[34] There were no organized nations at Avignon, and this society took the place of them. It had its headquarters in the convent of the Frères Prêcheurs and had as officers

[33] Les écoliers de l'Université étaient répartis en un certain nombre de divisions, *par nations,* à l'imitation de Paris; mais cette division n'est qu'indiquée par les statuts, et elle ne paraît pas avoir jamais eu à Toulouse l'importance qu'elle avait à Paris, où les nations était si fortement organisées, et jouaient un rôle si important dans la vie universitaire; *par facultés,* et dans chaque faculté par école et par maître;—enfin *par collèges.—Histoire de Languedoc,* V, 7, p. 589. In 1523 a decree of the parlement demanded the surrender of *statuts* of the nations. This evidently has reference to new statutes, for from this time forward, throughout the sixteenth century, there is a struggle between the parlement and capitouls on the one hand, and the nations on the other, the parlement seeking to abolish the "nations." Rashdall states that there were no nations at Toulouse in the mediæval period. Cf. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages,* vol. 2, pt. 1, note 2, page 143.

[34] Caillet: *L'Université d'Avignon et sa Faculté des Droits au Moyen-Age* (1303–1503). Paris, 1907, page 130.

a prior and twelve councilors, all of them students. Other officers were two collectors (treasurers), whose duty it was to collect fees from the members of the society and from the novices or newcomers. Two promoters seem to have fulfilled the functions of beadle. It was their duty to convoke the members of the fraternity for assemblies and funerals. At Avignon, as in the other universities, the new student was a novice or *béjaune* (*bec jaune*, latinized *bejaunus*, "yellow-bill") until his admission into full brotherhood. After a period of probation, which lasted at least a year, he underwent the ceremony known as "purging of infection" [35] and assumed the name of "student." [36] The ceremony of purging or reception of the "yellow-bill" was the initiation into the fraternity and admission to the rank of brother (*confrère*). An initiation fee or *bienvenue* was exacted of him. The collecting of this lent itself to a bit of horseplay and degenerated into a grave abuse. When he had been admitted as *confrère*, the student took an oath to attend all the religious ceremonies of the *confrérie*, to be present at the funerals of his comrades, to visit the sick, etc. The prior was the official head, and it was his duty not only to discipline the members of the brotherhood, but to defend them from any aggressions on the part of outsiders. While its original purpose was a religious and charitable one, the Brotherhood of Saint Sebastian developed customs somewhat similar to those of the nations in other universities.

Whatever their status during the mediæval period, the nations at Toulouse in the sixteenth century were nothing more or less than college fraternities, with aims not very different from those of the college fraternities in America to-day, although their customs and standards of conduct can by no means be compared to those of fraternities of the present time. The general organization of the students into nations seems to have been somewhat different at Toulouse from that prevalent at the other universities of France. The French-speaking students were distributed into nations according to the provinces or districts from which they came.[37] The individual

[35] "purgatio sue infectionis."

[36] "venerabile nomen studentis vindicare."

[37] The term "French-speaking" is used to distinguish from foreigners. As a matter of fact, while the students of the South may have spoken French, it was not their native tongue. They still spoke the various dialects of the Provençal.

nations were grouped into super-nations or "alliances," according as they represented north or south France, and were called respectively the alliance of France and the alliance of Aquitaine.[38] In the former, the nation of the Île de France held the place of influence and in the latter the Gascons. In addition to the alliances of France and Aquitaine there were alliances of the various nations of foreign students. The Spaniards formed a single nation or alliance. The Italians and other students from the Levant belonged to the nation of Provence. It is very probable that the English, Germans, and other students from the north were combined into an alliance known as the Germans or Allemands;[39] so that possibly there were at Toulouse, as at Paris, four divisions or groups. The division of the students of the north and south of France seems to have been peculiar to Toulouse, and was due no doubt to the sectional feeling between the two parts of the country. Much of the violence and at the same time much of the keen interest in student life in the sixteenth century at Toulouse arose from the strong sectional feeling that was exhibited in the opposing alliances.

By a rare piece of good fortune the secretary's record book of the nation of Provence, running from 1558 to 1630, was preserved in the library of the Jesuits at Toulouse. Although this library was removed to some unknown place in the latter part of the nineteenth century, certain of the folios of the manuscript had been transcribed and published prior to the removal.[40] From these folios it is possible in large measure to reconstruct the story of the organization and life of the nations. From the disciplinary measures passed from time to time by the parlement and the capitouls in the form of decrees and ordinances, from various other sources, and from the study of certain features that seem to have been common to the nations of all the universities in which such organizations

[38] It should perhaps not be stated as a positive fact that the Southern alliance as a whole was called the alliance of Aquitaine, but numerous references lead to that conclusion. At Orléans the students from the Southern border of France were grouped into a single *nation* called "Aquitaine."

[39] At Paris the students coming from all the countries of the north and east which were actually foreign to France were combined into what was known as the English nation. In the fifteenth century, the name "English" became odious and was changed to "German."

[40] See note 24, p. 102.

existed, a fairly accurate picture of the nations at Toulouse may be obtained.

To the alliance of France belonged the students from Paris and a certain territory surrounding it,[41] Burgundy, Champagne, Britanny, Normandy, Périgord, Poitou, Anjou, Auvergne, Limousin, and perhaps others. To the alliance of Aquitaine belonged the students from the southern border of France, from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean, and those from Italy and the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean. The nations which made up this alliance were the Gascons and those composed of the students from Languedoc, Provence, Rouergue and Navarre. While the nations were named after the provinces, they did not always confine themselves strictly to the geographical limits of the provinces after which they were called. For example, the nation of Provence at Toulouse included all students from Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin; the Principality of Orange; the Comté of Nice, and as far as Briançon in Dauphiné; the Duchy of Savoy, and the region of Bresse as far as Mount Jura; Lausanne and its dependencies, the lake and city of Geneva, as well as a large part, if not all of Switzerland; the Marquisate of Saluces; all of Italy; the Island of Malta and all of the islands of the Orient "making a profession of the Apostolic and Roman Catholic Faith."[42] In the sixteenth century there was a multiplicity of nations at Toulouse. It is not probable that so large a number existed there in the mediæval period. Paris had only four, Oxford two, Montpellier three. The analyses given by Gadave[43] of the documents in the various archives at Toulouse show that there were many acts and ordinances passed during the earlier period affecting the conduct of the students, but there is no suggestion of nations until 1523, when the parlement passed a decree ordering the regents or professors to hand over the statutes drawn up by the students with respect to the "nations."[44] Shortly after-

[41] Extending westward in all probability as far as Orléans, *op. cit.*

[42] Ad. Baudouin: *op. cit.*, p. 490.

[43] Gadave: *op. cit.*

[44] It is very probable that a reorganization of the nations took place at this time and that additional nations were created. The suddenly increased activity of the nations would lead to this supposition. It is possible, however, that the decree of 1523 simply marks a new stage in the development of the encroaching power of the parlement over the students.

wards in the same year another decree was passed, giving instructions to the juge-mage, lieutenant of the seneschal, viguier and capitouls concerning unlawful congregations of armed students. Numerous decrees against students followed, until finally in 1531 the parlement determined to suppress the nations, and passed an act forbidding the students to elect priors, sub-priors, or other officers of nations. The students did not yield, and the nations persisted at Toulouse until the French Revolution.

Even going from one province to another to attend a university was in the mediæval period and in the sixteenth century a sort of expatriation and the nations performed a useful function in caring for the students from the various provinces and foreign countries. The matter of finding transportation to a distant university was one of difficulty and oftentimes fraught with personal danger. Felix Plater, a German who studied at Montpellier in the sixteenth century and who afterwards occupied a professorial chair for a half-century at Bâle, relates that "starting from Basel, it took him twenty days to reach the end of his journey; that his companions and himself escaped only by chance the dangers that threatened them."[45] Public conveyances did not exist, and private carriages were permitted only to the king and princes. When Francis I visited Toulouse in 1533 the men in his train had to ride on horseback and the ladies in carts. So bad were the roads that the women had to separate from the men at Lyons, the former journeying via Le Puy, Rodez and Albi, and the latter via Dauphiné and Bas-Languedoc,[46] averaging a speed of from four to five leagues a day. De Thou[47] in his *Mémoires* relates that his mother was the first woman not a princess to whom authority was given to possess a carriage for personal use.

To meet the difficulty of transportation, the French universities had as early as the thirteenth century obtained from the king the privilege of choosing special messengers called *missi volantes,* whose function it was to convey students to the various universities, and who were responsible for the young men confided to their care.

[45] Compayré: *Abelard,* p. 100.

[46] R. de Boysson: *Un Humaniste toulousain.*

[47] First president in the parlement of Provence, author of *Historia mei temporis.*

There was one messenger to each diocese, and his territory extended from one *chef-lieu* or capital to the next. After performing his duty, he made a report to the rector of the university and to the *procureurs* of the nations.[48] The first post service was inaugurated by Louis XI by an edict of 1464 in which he established on all the main highways of the kingdom stations four leagues apart, at which the private individual could hire fresh horses to carry him from one station to the next. Although the mode of travel continued to be by horseback, the traveler could cover considerable distance in a day by means of fresh horses at short intervals.

When the new student arrived at Toulouse and was enrolled in the nation representing the region from which he came, he was required to do homage to the prior or head of the nation (*le reconnaître*). That the act of homage or accolade was not a voluntary matter and was sometimes a source of friction, is shown by the following account from the secretary's book of the nation of Provence:

Upon one occasion when the prior of the nation had assembled his nationaires in one of the lecture halls of the "Estudes" (as the university was called),[49] a certain Gascon came in and announced to him that a freshman by the name of Crespin from Chambéry in Savoy, accompanied by one Paccot, an old student or "antique," and young Guirod of Annecy, were going about the city armed, boasting that they would not do homage to the prior. This news, says the chronicle, troubled the assembly, and the prior went away alone to meet them, armed only with his sword. Meeting the aforesaid Crespin and his two companions, the prior hailed the old student and asked him if he really meant to refuse the customary act of homage. The "antique" responded that as far as he himself was concerned, he was ready to acknowledge him and had already done so, but that he was in the company of one who was not of the same mind. The prior retorted that

[48] R. de Boysson, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

[49] Called by the students *Studes*. "Là, pres du couvent (des Chartreux) et de la belle église gothique des Cordeliers étaient les *Estudes*, c'est-à-dire les Facultés, d'un aspect bien plus modeste que de nos jours, avec des rues d'un caractère particulier. C'étaient pour les étudiants de tout âge, depuis l'adolescent de quatorze ou quinze ans, de la Faculté des arts ou des collèges, jusqu'au licencié, aspirant au Doctorat, en Droit ou en Médicine, après de longues années d'études, le terrain réservé à leurs travaux et à leurs exploits de tout ordre. C'était le *Lieu sacré*."—Dubédat, *op. cit.*

he would make him adopt a different tone, at once ordering Crespin to give him the accolade. The latter responded by drawing his sword. The prior drew his, planted the point of it in his enemy's arm, and with a swift upward stroke knocked off Crespin's hat and wig. Crespin, explains the historian, was wearing a wig, because he had recently come out of the monastery of the Chartreux which he had entered several months previously. In order to gain an advantage, Crespin stepped upon the foot-pavement, but the prior pursued him so hotly that he did not have time to put himself in a defensive attitude, and was compelled to beg for time to get his breath; which the prior very generously granted him. After resting a moment, Crespin rushed suddenly upon the prior, wielding his sword with both hands. The latter, skilful and doughty warrior that he was, struck Crespin's sword up over his shoulder and closed in on him in a bodily embrace. After wrestling thus for some time, Crespin was thrown down, head first, into the mud. The prior followed up his advantage by planting his foot on his adversary's throat with the intention of throttling him; but Crespin used what little strength he had left in begging for mercy and demanding "courtesy." Scarcely could he be heard, his mouth being almost full of mud! The prior granted him "courtesy" on condition that after rising he should give him the accolade in sign of recognition, as was demanded by the good customs of the ancient and honorable nation of Provence. Crespin did not lose any time in extricating himself from his painful situation and in ridding himself of his enemy's body by which he was oppressed. But after standing erect he made so "meager" an accolade that the prior felt impelled to make him repeat the ceremony three times, winding up with an embrace around the thighs. Crespin now became as docile as a lamb and in the end decided that the prior was capable and worthy of his office, agreeing to serve him at all times and in all places.

In spite of the assertion that the students at Toulouse were considered "good" in contrast with the students of other universities, it must be confessed that they probably excelled all others in their ability and readiness to fight. Their chief sport was fighting with the two-handed sword. These contests varied all the way from individual duels to regular battles between the alliances. Nor were they confined to any particular locality. While clashes occurred frequently enough within the precincts of the Estudes, the streets of the town seem to have been the chief battle-ground. So long as the contests were limited to the students themselves, it is

very likely that the townspeople took a lively interest in them. Upon one occasion when groups of students were engaged in a battle with swords in one of the side streets, there were no less than three hundred spectators, and we are told that the approach of the *guet* brought forth a warning, the crowd crying with one voice: "le guet! le guet!" Thus, by the sympathetic coöperation of the inhabitants of the city, the offenders were enabled to make their escape.

Not only were the students within a given nation frequently at odds with one another, but constant clashes occurred between nations as a whole, and at times there were affrays on a grand scale between the cohorts of opposing alliances. Nor were the differences always settled in a single battle, but sometimes there was armed hostility lasting through months. The secretary's book of the nation of Provence gives an account of trouble arising among the nations in 1571 which lasted several months, until finally from sheer weariness a truce was agreed upon. The secretary, Tourthou, concludes his account in the following language:

"And as is said in the popular proverb: '*Après les ténèbres vient le beau temps,*' the nations on either side, tired of skirmishing, desiring to get into peace and harmony, through the intermediary of friends it was said and agreed that by-gones should be by-gones, and everything that had been captured on either side should be returned, and from now on there should be peace and harmony among the aforesaid nations, and articles of agreement thereon should be signed by all of messieurs the priors of the said nations, for and in the name of each of them respectively."

This truce was signed in the presence of Étienne Forcatel, poet and *docteur-régent* (professor) in the faculty of law and the successful candidate for a professorship in competition with the celebrated Cujas. Five candidates had entered into a competition or disputation, as was customary in those times, and for several centuries it was thought that Forcatel was awarded the professorship in preference to Cujas, but nineteenth century research established the fact that Cujas withdrew from the contest before the awarding of the professorship.[50] He went in succession to Cahors, Bourges

[50] See Deloume, *op. cit.*, pp. 65–85. Berriat Saint-Prix: *Histoire du Droit romaine,* followed by *Histoire de Cujas,* Paris, Faujat, libraire, 1821. Beneck: *Cujas et Toulouse,* Toulouse, imprimerie Dieulafoy, 1842.

and Valence, where he attained universal reputation by establishing the study of the law upon a humanistic basis.

The students, however, did not always confine their exhibitions of the sword to their own numbers. Frequently they were in revolt against the inhabitants of the town and as a result, the clashes which ensued brought death from time to time on one side or the other. One of the common devices of the students was to sally forth into the town, create a disturbance and then flee for sanctuary back to the precincts of the Estudes.[51] In the beginning, the university had been solely under the jurisdiction of the church, and as a religious institution had enjoyed the special immunity from invasion accorded to the churches themselves. The Estudes were a *lieu sacré,* and when a student had reached sanctuary he could not be molested.[51] This ancient tradition suffered partial eclipse in the sixteenth century, and from time to time the precincts of the Estudes were invaded, now by the officers of the seneschal, the capitouls and the *guet,* now by throngs of enraged citizens.

It is reasonably certain that a new student, after becoming

[51] Jean Gerson, court preacher and later chancellor of the university at Paris, upon one occasion preached a sermon before the court in which he gave a picture of students chased even into the sanctuary of the church where they had fled for refuge:

". . . Just imagine what horror and confusion there was upon seeing such a number of pretty scholars fleeing like innocent lambs and stumbling along before their ravishers, not knowing where to hide. They ran to the church as to a place of refuge and safety, as chicks flee to the sheltering wings of their mother; but it was of no avail, for, exceeding the cruelty of the miscreants and Vandals who took Rome, the ravishers by no means spared those who were in the church, but attacked them like beasts, so that a number of them were wounded, and as many as were in the church fled hither and thither, seeking protection as best they could; so that the mass, which had solemnly begun, after most of the singers had taken flight, was with great difficulty and with great fear completed in a low voice, and the sermon stopped; and the good ladies who had come there hid the youths under their cloaks, but even then could not hold them in surety. There ensued such a persecution as you have seen in the paintings when Herodius had the Innocents slain. One scholar was wounded by an arrow in the breast, another in the neck, another had his robe pierced; and in short—such was the number of the persecutors who were shooting at random, that there was no one who was not in imminent peril of death, whether master or scholar, whether noble (as some were) or not noble, whether your own children, my lords,—thirty others were wounded."—Constans, *Chrestomathie de l'ancien français,* p. 150.

identified with a nation, underwent at Toulouse as in other French universities a period of probation before becoming a full-fledged student or "antique." The initiation ceremony differed in the north and south of France. In north France the freshman or *béjaune* was a wild beast whose horns must be shed before he was fit to be received into the refined society which surrounded him in the university. After returning from matriculation before the rector, a committee of old students would visit the freshman in his room. "They pretend to be investigating the source of an abominable odour which has reached their nostrils. At last they discover the cause; it is the newcomer, whom they take to be a wild boar. A closer inspection reveals that it is a 'beanus,' a creature that they have heard of but never seen. There follows much chaff about the wild glare in his eye, the length of his ears, the ferocious aspect of his tusks, and so on. Then with mock sympathy it is suggested that the horns and other excrescences be removed by an operation."[52] After smearing his face with soap by way of ointment, the victim's ears were clipped, his beard cut, his tusks removed with a saw. In south France the freshman was not a wild beast who had to be civilized, but a criminal who had to be tried and admitted to the purgation of this peculiar form of original sin.[52] After being purged of his infection, the freshman entered into full fellowship in the university.

The nations at Toulouse were well organized and had a set of duly elected officers. At the head was the prior (*prieur*), who was not only the presiding executive officer of the nation, but its defender and leader in many battles engaged in with other nations and with the authorities of the town and province; or, upon occasion, with the inhabitants of the town. The secretary of the nation of Provence leaves no doubt as to the nature of the office: "lequel les entretint en paix et les deffendit contre les autres (who kept them at peace among themselves and defended them against the others)." The second officer in rank was the sub-prior (*sous-prieur*), chosen for ability and qualities similar to those of the prior. The members not only looked to the prior and sub-prior for administration of the nation, but regarded them as their natural leaders and defenders.

[52] Rashdall: *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 632.

That the officers lived up to their expectations is suggested by the following entry in the record of the nation of Provence for the year 1559:

"The councilors of the nation state that the prior and sub-prior have returned to Provence, leaving the nation totally destitute of government and administration; whence it has happened that several other nations have not been afraid to band together against the Provençaux, thinking by this means to overcome and conquer them. Besides this 'inconvenience,' there are several other things that make it expedient for the nation to take at once necessary precautions."

In a succeeding entry the absence of the heads of the nation is explained. They had been forced to flee on account of the extreme bravery they had displayed in loyally defending the interests of their nation:

"Since Monsieur Héremitte, prior, and Monsieur Bernoin, sub-prior, always showed themselves well affectioned towards the nation, even before their elevation to office, it happened that they preferred to expose their own lives rather than to incur blame from the nation for timidity, in such fashion that being provoked by their enemies and ours, and this to such degree that they discharged their weapons[53] at them and got so animated that they did not give their enemies time to get their bearings, but on the contrary, striking first on one side, then on the other, created a havoc that will linger in the memory of men, and for this reason they absented themselves. . . ."

From the above extracts we learn not only the character of the men chosen for the highest offices in the nations, but something of the degree of importance of these officials in the administrative oversight of them. Then, too, we get a glimpse of the attitude of the nations toward each other, and how much the esteem and respect in which a nation was held by other nations depended upon skilled and courageous leadership and its ability to present a bold front.

The elections took place apparently at three different periods of the school term: in October before the opening of the session, the first of January, and the latter part of May. The regular elections of the nation of Provence were held on January 1, though at times special elections were held at the opening and towards the close of

[53] ". . . et ce jusques à leur deslacher pistolets d'arbalestre."

the scholastic year (the winter session of the university opened on Saint Luke's Day, Oct. 18, and closed the latter part of June). This was probably the custom of all the nations at Toulouse. While the elections may as a rule have been *viva voce,* at times at least secret balloting was resorted to in order to prevent fraud or intimidation. When there were rival candidates for the office of prior, they sometimes got into a quarrel which was likely to wind up in a duel. The duel no doubt served a double purpose. It not only enabled the angry candidates to vent their spleen on each other, but enabled the nationaires to decide which was the more capable of defending the interests of the nation.[54]

As soon as the result of an election was known, the whole assembly of the nation arose as one man and saluted the fortunate candidate by crying three times in succession with one voice: "Vivat! Vivat! Vivat!" At the hands of the retiring prior, the newly created prior took the oath on the secretary's book and swore to guard and watch over the interests of the nation. A week after the election came the "Triumph" of the new prior. The members of the nation, fully accoutred and armed with swords, marched to the accompaniment of *violons* and *hautboys* to the prior's lodgings. They were usually accompanied by representatives of other nations who had been specially invited to participate in the celebration. Arriving at the prior's, they would conduct him to a mass which was probably said in the cathedral of Saint-Sernin (located quite near the Estudes), in the near-by Église du Taur, or perhaps at the Église des Cordeliers. After the solemn celebration of the mass the company would hold a parade through the city behind their banner on which was portrayed the image of the saint whom they had chosen as their patron; marching to the strains of musical instruments engaged for the occasion at the expense of the nation. After the parade, the students concluded their march at the lodgings of the prior and were entertained by him with a "banquet et festin." As soon as the guests had been "honourably" treated to an abundance and "beautiful diversity" of viands, the entertainment was concluded with dancing.[55]

[54] The student rectorial elections at the university of Angers frequently involved "grands meurtres et battures, et autres grands scandales et perdition de temps." See Rashdall, vol. 2, pt. 1, note 1, page 156.

As a token of good will and esteem, the members of the nation, on the first of May, set up the May pole in front of the prior's lodgings.[56]

In case of absence of both the prior and sub-prior, a special officer was appointed in their stead,—a captain or superintendent. The other officers of the nation were the councilors, *procureur,* orator, beadles, *exacteurs,* treasurers, secretary and syndic. The prior, sub-prior and councilors seem to have constituted an executive committee which acted for the nation in an emergency or when it was impracticable to call the nation together as a whole. The nation of Provence had two beadles, who were chosen from the freshest arrivals. The office of beadle was scorned. The duties of it were apparently confined to serving the members of the nation, the beadle acting in the capacity of messenger boy or fag. Because of the contempt in which the office was held, it was abolished in the nation of Provence in 1571. The reason assigned was: "For those who were the last to come, being by ancient custom compelled to assume the duties of this office, if they were of good family, became offended at having to go and fetch this, that, or the other one from his lodgings, being sometimes of better lineage than those whom they were compelled to serve; and for this reason the custom was abolished." After the abolition of the office, some of its duties at least seem to have fallen to an official called the syndic, whose principal care was to assemble the nationaires for the regular meetings and on special occasions.

An initiation fee was exacted of the freshman or "yellow-bill." It was the duty of the *exacteurs* to collect this fee, known as the *bienvenue,* and the function of the treasurers (more than one) was to take care of the money. The amount of the fee exacted of the freshman was a *pistole,* and half this sum was required of the "antiques," as the old students were called. Its original purpose was to help the members of the nation in times of need, such as sickness or when they were "broke" (as often happened, we are

[55] ". . . fut le bal dressé avec belle troupe de damoiselles, où sont treuvés les bons baladins qui ont décoré et donné réjouissance à toute la compagnie d'un infinité de cabrioles et pirouettes."

[56] ". . . en recognoissance des peines et travaux et bonne volonté dud. monsieur le prieur."

told—partly through the fault of the parents, but more commonly through the rascality of the "messengers"). While the postilions in charge of the horses from one post station to another may have been intrusted with the delivery of official letters and packages, they did not carry private ones. Nor did the university messengers have any special right or privilege to carry private correspondence.[57] Sometimes merchants sent muleteers back and forth with what would now be called sacks of mail, but usually private letters arrived at their destination through a special messenger, a valet, or a friend.

While, at its inception, the purpose of the *bienvenue* was good, the custom of exacting it led to grave abuses. The collecting of it developed into a species of hazing, which finally became nothing short of "hold-up" and highway robbery. This abuse, at first perhaps confined to the students themselves, spread, and was finally applied to outsiders. The *Annales manuscrites* in the municipal archives at Toulouse give an account of trouble that arose in 1603 over the exacting of the *bienvenue.* In this year the students' excesses were multiplied, people being held up who were not in any way connected with the university. Certain German noblemen visiting Toulouse went to the faculty of law, where they were halted by some students from Burgundy and Lorraine and were compelled to pay the *bienvenue.* Upon order of the parlement, the capitouls, accompanied by the soldiers of the *guet,* who were called in student parlance *fourrous,* went to the Estudes and made an unsuccessful attempt to catch the offenders. Upon another occasion certain students attacked a seneschal while he was attending the vesper service in the cathedral of Saint-Sernin, with the purpose of exacting from him the *bienvenue,* causing a commotion and greatly shocking the priests. At times the students even went so far as to invade the lodgings of recently arrived strangers in order to hold them up for the *bienvenue.* Once a serious brawl arose when the nation of

[57] The duties of the "messengers" at the university of Caen (there was one messenger for each of the several dioceses of Normandy) are defined as follows in Amidée de Bourmont's *L'Université de Caen,* p. 98: "Their duties consisted of carrying back and forth the correspondence of teachers and students with their sections; every month the rector had to see them, and every month they had to offer their services to their compatriots."

Gascogne had deprived the students of the college of Esquile[58] of their mantles under pretext of exacting the *bienvenue*. In 1582, the parlement passed a decree forbidding the students to elect priors and sub-priors of nations, to carry arms, to exact *bienvenues*, upon pain of prison and banishment.[59] Another decree (1595) prohibited them from electing priors and sub-priors of nations, from levying any sort of tax and exacting *bienvenues*, upon penalty of capital punishment; those who should accept the title of prior or sub-prior were to be excluded from any royal office or public charge. Students were also forbidden to carry arms, to conduct themselves in a defiant manner and to wear immodest clothes. In spite of numberless decrees and ordinances enacted through the centuries by the officials of the province and of the town, students continued to be bold enough to accept office in the nations, and at Toulouse, as has been stated, the nations persisted until the outbreak of the French Revolution.

Jean de Pins

The spirit of the Renaissance, especially that form of it known as humanism, began to manifest itself early at Toulouse and reached a pronounced stage in the decade between 1530 and 1540. The chief representative of the New Learning at Toulouse was the celebrated Jean de Pins, ambassador, diplomat, *homme d'Église*, friend of Francis I, collector of priceless manuscripts—which he presented to his king for the new library at Fontainebleau. He was among the first of the French to acquire a knowledge of Greek, possessed Latin style of purity and elegance, was an author and patron of letters. After a brilliant career in letters and diplomacy, he retired in 1523 to Toulouse, where he exercised his duties as bishop of

[58] One of the numerous colleges attached to the university. Others of them were the Colleges of Foix and Sainte-Catherine, mentioned elsewhere.

[59] "Si a faict aussi défenses à tous escoliers de pourter espées ou autres armes ès d. escoles ou ès environ d'icelles, ni ailleurs par la ville, et de se entre quereler ou entre-battre, ne faire aucuns prieurs ou soubs prieurs de nations; et à ceuls qui sont jà créés, s'en dire ou faire aucuns actes de prieurs ou sobs prieurs; ne faire aucunes assemblées, troubles ou empêcher les lectures, exiger des escoliers aucunes sommes, soubs prétexte de bienvenue ou autrement sur peine de prison, bannissement et autre arbitraire; leur enjoignant se maintenir en toute modestie et se rendre assidus à l'audition des d. lectures. . . ."

Rieux until his death in 1537. The last years of his life were divided between the performance of his duties as bishop and devotion to charity, study, and the cultivation of literary men. Under his patronage and protection, Toulouse became to a certain extent a seat of the New Learning—centering in the university. The line of cleavage between the humanists and the reactionaries became sharp. At Toulouse, as everywhere, the humanists were aggressive in their attitude and railed bitterly at what they called the ignorance and barbarity of their opponents. Professors and students alike took sides, and this division of spirit led to conflicts among the nations. Humanism, the progress of religious reform, the struggles of the various political elements for supremacy, the strenuous efforts of the students and professors to maintain their ancient privileges,—all of these had their effect on the spirit of the nations and caused constant strife and turmoil, especially between the years 1533 and 1536.

Cessatio

Dissatisfaction in the university became acute in the fall of 1533. In 1531 the parlement had for the first time passed a decree abolishing the nations. The students had refused to obey, and in the spring of 1533 vigorous measures had been taken by the parlement and the capitouls to enforce their will upon the student body. At the same time the capitouls were attempting to enforce certain forms of taxation on the members of the university. One of the most ancient privileges of the university had been exemption from taxes. The growing spirit of humanism had caused increasing bitterness between the champions of the New Learning and the adherents of scholasticism. All of these troubles were aggravated by the entry of King Francis I into Toulouse in August, 1533. After the battle of Pavia the king had been carried a captive to Spain and his subjects were required to pay a large ransom for his release. A large contribution to this object had been made by Jean de Bernuy, the rich financier of Toulouse. Out of gratitude, Francis I made a vow to worship at the shrine of the cathedral of Saint-Sernin. This vow was fulfilled in 1533, the presence of the chief patron and protector of the New Learning in France inspiring the humanists to renewed boldness: the heavy expense of entertaining the king

and the attempts of the capitouls to make the university share in the costs, the double policy of the king with regard to this question,[60] his sudden and unexpected departure from Toulouse,—all of these things added greatly to the spirit of discontent, which came to a head among the professors in a strike that they declared in the fall of 1533, when they refused to continue their lectures.

The right to go on a strike—called "cessation" (*cessatio*)—was one of the privileges enjoyed by the early universities. Sometimes, things went so far that a whole university took flight, as, for illustration, in the case of Orléans. About 1320 the university of Orléans, vexed at the attitude of the citizens of the town, removed bodily to Nevers, where it remained until satisfaction was obtained. This migration of the university was ill received at Nevers. The inhabitants threw the rector's chair into the Loire, expressing the hope that, borne by the waters of the stream, and "with the assistance of the devil," it might return to the city whence it came.[61] The history of the university of Paris had been filled with such cessations or strikes, but they had come to an end when King Louis XII rode out against the university at the head of his military household, armed from head to foot, lance in rest.[62]

The "cessation" at Toulouse gave the students ample opportunity to vent their spleen on the capitouls, who were several times attacked in the streets. A group of students laid hold of one of them who was riding a mule and dragged him violently to the ground.[63] The inhabitants joined the *guet* in pursuing the students, who would sally forth into the town, create a disturbance and flee back to sanctuary in the halls of learning. At last the officers pursued them into the lecture rooms and "blood spattered the tables and walls."[64] The parlement took a hand and compelled

[60] The king renewed the ancient privileges of the university, among them that of exemption from taxation. At the same time he endorsed the position of the capitouls, who maintained that everybody should contribute to the expense of the king's entry.

[61] Compayré: *Abelard*, p. 67.

[62] Cambridge University was started by such a migration of a part of the university of Oxford.

[63] Dumège: *Histoire des Institutions de Toulouse*, vol. ii.

[64] R. de Boysson, *op. cit.*, p. 83. Such scenes were sometimes enacted at other universities as well as at Toulouse. Upon one occasion, after the

the professors to resume their courses. The capitouls renewed the measures interdicting the assembling of the nations. The students were almost continually in revolt. The alliances of the north and south were arrayed against each other, and both were combined against the common enemy—the constituted authorities. The alliance of France was led by Étienne Dolet and the alliance of Aquitaine by the Gascon, Pierre Pinache. The final result of the student troubles was the temporary suppression of the nations in the spring of 1534 and the expulsion of Dolet. By the next year, however, the nations were again in evidence, and the entry into Toulouse of the king and queen of Navarre became the occasion of grave conflicts.

Margaret of Navarre

Margaret of Angoulême, sister of king Francis I, who had married the king of Navarre, had a brilliant court at Nérac, which became the refuge of the champions of the new ideas in literature and religion. Much of the credit given to Francis I as patron of art and letters is due to his sister, "whose influence was most constantly exercised on behalf of letters and learning, who encouraged him to liberal measures for their advancement, who recommended scholars and men of letters to his favor, and who stood between them and his wrath."[65] She knew Latin, and had dabbled in Greek and Hebrew. The universities of Nîmes and Bourges owed much to her patronage. It was for the latter that she secured the services of the great Italian jurist Alciati, founder of the new jurisprudence in France. When evangelical preaching came into fashion in Paris, Margaret was the chief supporter of it. During the

students of Montpellier had created a disturbance in which several people were killed, the citizens of the town determined to have their revenge. Lying in wait for the students as they came from the class rooms, they hemmed them up in a narrow street from which they could not escape. In order to distinguish their own countrymen from the others they compelled each one to repeat a phrase which ended with the words *bona nioch.* Since no one, not to the language born, could pronounce these words without a foreign accent, they were able to distinguish the foreigners from the rest. Several of the foreigners were killed and their bodies thrown into wells. The street in which this happened received the name of *Bona-nioch* (Good-night). Germain: *Étude historique sur l'école de droit de Montpellier* (Montpellier, 1877), p. 23.

[65] Tilley: *The Literature of the French Renaissance,* vol. i.

whole of Lent, 1533, the evangelical preacher, Gérard Roussel, preached daily in the Louvre to large congregations. Noel Beda, the Sorbonne doctor, arch enemy of the humanists and reformers, accused the king and queen of Navarre of heresy and tried to create a commotion, for which he was banished from Paris. The relations in the Renaissance between France and Italy caused Italian to be widely cultivated in France and there were many people of distinction who wrote as well as spoke the language, even going so far as to compose Italian verse. Chief among these was Margaret, who not only corresponded with Vittoria Colonna in her own language, but also wrote poetry in Italian. The only student of Dante among the writers of the reign of Francis I, says Tilley,[66] was his sister Margaret. She was the author of the universally celebrated *Heptameron,* and wrote excellent poetry of a mystically religious nature. She was extremely tolerant, and her court at Nérac sheltered in turn Marot, Melancthon, Calvin, Bèze, and many others who were persecuted for their views. There was not a plan for the encouragement of letters that she did not promote, and if her brother Francis I was the Father of the New Learning in France, Margaret, says Michelet, was "the amiable Mother of the Renaissance." A host of writers dedicated their works to her, and there was scarcely a poet who did not compose in her honor a "*dixain* or a Latin ode." Upon the occasion of her death in 1549, Pierre de Sainct-Aignan, a poet of the Floral Games, wrote a *chant royal* upon her name, for which he was awarded the Eglantine. In a prologue to his *chant royal,*[67] the young poet says:

> Ce chant royal j'ay faict sur amourettes,
> Sur Zéphires, sur petitz rameletz,
> Sur un gay pré, décoré de fleurettes,
> Sur trois couleurs[68] et sur clairs ruysseletz.
> Verd est ce mois, les predz sont verdeletz,
> Parquoy l'ay faict en verdure facile,
> Car en doulx chantz m'ont dict les oiseletz
> Que l'argument ne requéroit hault stile.

[66] *Op. cit.,* vol. i.

[67] Introducing the *chant royal* with a prologue was very unusual.

[68] In the third strophe the poet names the colors: "Au rouge, au jaulne, et au blanc précieulx," red, yellow and white being supposedly the colors belonging to the *marguerite.*

In the five strophes proper of his poem, the poet conducts us into a green meadow studded with flowers, in the midst of which is a *marguerite.* In their turn come Cupid, the demi-gods, the birds led by the nightingale, the animals, and finally the nymphs, all of them paying homage to the queen of flowers. In the *envoi,* which the poet calls the *allégorie,* we are informed that the flower is the Virgin Mary, Cupid is the Holy Spirit, the animals are the ignorant and the enemies of Virtue, and the birds are those whose spirits have been freed by Knowledge.

When the king and queen of Navarre made their entry into Toulouse in the summer of 1535 the students were engaged in a contest with the authorities over the question of the nations. The capitouls accompanied by the *guet* made an attempt to dissolve the nations of the French, Normans, Limousins, Périgourdins, Provençaux, Gascons, Navarrais and Bretons. In the *rixe* that ensued the students were aided by a company of noblemen who had accompanied the king of Navarre on his visit to the college of Foix. In a second brawl, curious to relate, the seneschal joined with the nobles in defense of the students in their attack on the *guet.* Several of the soldiers of the *guet* were severely wounded, and two of them were hacked to death with swords. The chronicle of the time describes their death in quaint language: "deux furent deschiquetez comme la chair d'une beste brutte et depuis en sont trespassez (two were cut to pieces like the flesh of a dumb brute and afterwards died from it)."

In the following year a *rixe* arose in which a student, Pierre Guimarch, was killed. This caused the parlement to pass a new decree prohibiting students from electing priors, sub-priors and *procureurs* of nations upon pain of arrest, and the publication of the decree should be renewed each month to the sound of a trumpet. In the same year another student, Ramond Talhac, was killed. This time the parlement took stern measures against the *gens du guet;* sieur Goffre, sergeant of the *guet,* was condemned to make the *amende honorable,* which consisted of the usual journey through the streets in a cart with a rope around his neck. He was then hanged in front of the Estudes. Two others were whipped until the blood came, their goods were confiscated, and they were con-

demned to perpetual banishment. Others suffered likewise, except that instead of banishment they were sentenced to be beheaded and their bodies cut into quarters.

Concerning these troubles, Jehan de Boysson composed a Latin poem, in the preface to which he says: "The captain of the *guet* commands his cruel troop of guards to kill the students, whilst he orders the executioner to hang some of them like assassins":

> ". . .; discipulos jubet necari
> Præfecti vigilum a cohorte dira,
> Dum quosdam laqueo, latronis instar
> Manu carnificis facit perire." [69]

Jean Voulté, humanist, writer of Latin poems, professor of *belles lettres* in the university of Toulouse beginning with 1534, describes in his *Carmina* the troubles of the times and pictures the students chased through the streets like malefactors, with their clothes in tatters and uttering cries of rage and pain. "I saw the *guet* aroused to a brutal fury trample upon the bare bodies of the students, cruelly mutilating their bloody limbs. I saw them strike with swords and lances, with poniards and sabres, inflicting deep wounds in their breasts." [70]

The *Annales manuscrites* give an account of an event which occurred in 1540. A student by the name of Salvat, having drawn his sword during a lecture of one of the professors, was reported to the parlement. This body decreed that Salvat's sword should be nailed to the university gate or door in the professor's presence. The seneschal and the capitouls executed the decree, but the students rebelled, tore the sword down and set fire to the buildings. The capitouls, with the aid of four thousand armed citizens, arrested about one hundred and twenty students who were trying to set fire to the city. A student Trilheton was hanged in front of the Estudes[71] and others, who presumably had escaped, were hanged in

[69] *Carmina, Hendécasyllabe XXXIV,* in Tholosam, Folio 21.

[70] *Vultei Carmina,* p. 137.

[71] The bodies of victims by hanging were in those times left swaying on the tree or gallows. Villon in his *ballade* of "Les Pendus" and Victor Hugo in "L'Homme qui rit" have given faithful if gruesome pictures of such scenes. Compayré gives an account of a provost at Paris who was compelled

effigy. The narrative goes on to state that the capitouls rebuilt the Estudes upon such a magnificent scale "that at present they are the most beautiful schools in Christendom."[72]

The Reformation

The secretary's book of the nation of Provence opens just at the moment when the trend of the religious troubles between Catholics and Protestants was shaping itself towards the climax in the Massacre of Saint-Bartholomew. From this record, from the decrees and ordinances passed by the parlement and capitouls at this time against the nations, and from the *Livre Rouge,* the secretary's record of the Floral Games (1513–1641), we are able to see the part played by the students at Toulouse in the stirring drama of the Reformation. In 1560 a Monsieur d'Aliehres, a syndic of Toulouse, made complaint in the meeting of the Floral Games concerning a student who had read or recited certain defamatory and scandalous works: ". . . recently a student being in the Consistory[73] and having recited certain defamatory and scandalous works against the Christian faith and religion . . . the aforesaid student be caught and seized, and his 'works' destroyed, and he condemned to a good fine. . . ." After due deliberation, the body of the Floral Games decided that public remonstrance should be made in the open meeting, and that the chancellor should prohibit all students and other contestants from making henceforth any allusions in their works of a mischievous, insulting, or opprobrious nature, or of speaking ill against the Christian faith and religion, upon penalty of being punished as insulters and transgressors of the statutes and ordinances of the society; and furthermore the poets were in the future not to publish any abusive words against the Christian faith and religion, upon pain of being fined and prevented from ever appearing again in the annual contests.[74]

Religious disturbances reached a sub-climax in what was known

to take down the bodies of two students from the gibbet and to kiss them on the mouth.

[72] *Annales manuscrites,* II, f. 41, cf. Gadave, *op. cit.*

[73] The annual meetings of the Floral Games were held in the Consistory of the town hall at Toulouse.

[74] *Livre Rouge,* entry for 1560.

as the Protestant Conspiracy of 1562. The influence of events leading up to the crisis of that year is clearly seen in the activities of the students. In 1555 a soldier of the *guet* by the name of Viaulte wounded a student, François Tunel, during the *prêche* (as the Protestant preaching service was called) of Saint-Roch. This incident is related in the *Annales manuscrites* for the year. In that same year the capitouls passed an ordinance against students wearing masks and carrying arms. The wearing of masks was one of the accompaniments of the struggles between Catholics and Protestants. In the following year the ordinance against students carrying arms was renewed, and a decree was passed by the parlement forbidding the students to assemble in nations in the churches and ordering the sacristans, curés and vicars not to tolerate such gatherings. Furthermore, the students were forbidden to elect priors, sub-priors and captains of nations; armorers were forbidden to sell arms, and *logeurs* (lodging-house keepers) to receive armed students. In 1559 an ordinance of the capitouls forbade the students to carry arms and to form nations. The *Annales manuscrites* for 1560 give an account of certain seditious characters pretending to be students, wearing like them the *chaperon* and going about in armed bands; the *guet* was reinforced and vigilance exercised over all the lodgings in the neighborhood of the Estudes. Another ordinance of the capitouls against carrying arms and forming nations; the capitouls condemn three students. A decree of the parlement confirms the sentence of the capitouls and renews the prohibition concerning the carrying of arms and the forming of nations. In this year four hundred students petitioned the president of the parlement Mansencal for a church in which they might hold services according to the rites of Geneva; in March of 1561 they organized a *prêche* or preaching service in the street near the Estudes and went armed through the streets of the town singing the psalms of Marot. On March 31 a deliberation of the capitouls was held to take police measures against certain students or other persons who were in the habit of assembling at the Estudes for the purpose of hearing sermons and singing the Psalms of David.

Psalms of Marot

In 1539, the poet Clément Marot had completed and circulated a French translation of thirty of the Psalms. King Francis I was pleased with them and they became the fashion at the court. The Dauphin was especially enthusiastic and set one of these translations to music. The Psalms were printed at Paris in the winter of 1541–42. The next year a new edition with nineteen additional Psalms was published. They were censured by the doctors of the Sorbonne, but since human nature is such that men are apt to value most highly that which is forbidden them, the Psalms could not be printed rapidly enough to meet the popular demand. They were not at first set to sacred music to be sung in the churches, but every one gave them a tune such as he saw fit, commonly that of a ballad.[75] Princes and courtiers selected Psalms for themselves. King Henry II chose as his hunting Psalm: "Ainsi qu'on oyt le cerf bruire (Like as the hart doth breathe and bray)." His favorite, Madame de Valentinois, adopted: "Lord, to Thee I make my moan." The queen sang to a merry tune: "Lord, in Thy wrath reprove me not." Anthony, king of Navarre, sang: "Revange-moi, prens ma querelle," to the tune of a dance of Poitou. Not only the Lutherans, but Catholics also, says Bayle,[75] took pleasure in singing them, because they were pleasant, easy to learn, and fit to be played upon the violin and musical instruments. Calvin, adds Bayle, took care to put them in the hands of the best musicians in Christendom to be set to music; after this ten thousand copies of the Psalms in rime, set to music, were dispersed everywhere. Everybody began to carry them about, even Catholics, and to sing them as spiritual songs. Eventually, about the year 1553, they came to form a part of the religious worship of the Calvinists. Then they came to be bound together with the Calvinian and Genevan catechisms. So that at last to sing a Psalm came to be synonymous with being a Protestant.

Henry II died in 1559 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Francis II, a frail and sickly boy of sixteen. Within a year he was afflicted with an abscess of the ear, from which he died. The

[75] Bayle: *Historical and Critical Dictionary,* English translation, London, 1826; vol. ii, p. 268.

next in succession to the throne was his younger brother ten years of age, who ascended the throne as Charles IX. Until the young king should reach the age of responsibility, the regency of the kingdom fell into the hands of the queen mother, Catherine de Médicis. At a time when the troubles between Catholics and Protestants were increasing in intensity and when conditions generally throughout the kingdom demanded strong and firm guidance, the changing and inefficient rulers threw the country into a chaos. On the religious side matters came to a sort of head in the massacre of Vassy, of which we shall speak presently.

Dumège, who wrote a history of the institutions of Toulouse, touches upon the troubles of the times:

"The death of the king [Francis II], the convocation of the States General [at Orléans], and especially the preaching of the ministers of the new religion, such were the things that were uppermost in men's minds. If in the churches of Toulouse preachers, whose persuasive eloquence was equalled only by their devotion, sturdily opposed the propagation of the new doctrines, on the outside impassioned preachers arrayed themselves solidly against what they called 'idolatry.' Grave magistrates[76] lent them their support, and fiery youth collecting together from all parts of the city gave promise of aid in the form of physical force. To our old national songs, sweet and graceful reminders of the middle ages, had succeeded the noisy singing of the Psalms, and from all directions were heard resounding these words addressed to the God of good-will:

'Revanche-moi, Seigneur, prends ma querelle!'

. . . The love of the novelty of the thing was especially what impelled a part of the students to embrace the dogmas of the so-called Reform; these young hotheads believed that they were performing an act of heroism by insulting the priests, breaking images, singing the Psalms so strangely translated into French by Bèze and Marot." [77]

The Protestant Conspiracy

When in March, 1562, the duke of Guise was returning from Lorraine he passed through the town of Vassy in Champagne,

[76] A reference to the capitouls of the city, a majority of whom at this moment had turned Protestant, or Huguenot.

[77] Dumège: *Histoire des Institutions de Toulouse,* vol. ii, p. 277.

where he stopped to attend mass. At the moment, the singing of some Protestants who were collected for worship in a nearby barn was heard, and the soldiers of Guise attempted to stop the service. The Protestants refused to disperse, and in the affray which followed sixty Protestants were slain and two hundred wounded. The massacre of Vassy was a signal, and soon in various places in France the Catholics and Protestants were at death's grip. At Toulouse the religious differences had already reached an acute stage, which was forecast by the action of the students of the nation of Provence. In the latter part of December, 1561, the prior had recommended to his nation, in view of the approaching election of officers in January, the omission of the triumphal procession of the successful candidates on account of the state of religion. The anticipated struggle came in May, 1562, the narration of which belongs to the domain of history. The consideration that is of interest at this point is the effect it had on student life. The university was closed. The *Annales manuscrites* state: "The Estudes of law were closed and all public lectures prohibited. Under the guise of being students, numbers of people, enemies of the town, cowardly and accursed spirits, might don the scholastic robe and pretending to attend the law lectures enter the city in such hostile numbers that they would be the stronger."

In the uprising in May the Protestants were aided by four companies of students. Lafaille[78] relates the part played by them:

"The Huguenots were not more than seventeen hundred. Among other companies that were formed, four were composed of students. . . . At that time there reigned among the students an extraordinary bravery, or rather, rashness: Stopinian had command of the Gascons and of the foreigners, their allies; La Poplinière that of the Poitevins, Xaintongeois, Angoumois and Rochelois. This is the same La Poplinière who wrote the history of the troubles of religion,[79] whose testimony I am all the more willing to accept as to things which happened this year in Toulouse, since he was an eye-witness, and furthermore seems to me to be very sincere."

The students belonging to the nation of Provence were allies of the Gascons and no doubt fought by their side under the leadership

[78] *Annales de la Ville de Toulouse.*

[79] *Histoire de France, de 1550 à 1577,* 4 vols. in 8°.

of Stopinian. While the record is silent as to the actual struggle, an entry in his book made by the secretary of the nation on January 1, 1563, gives evidence of the part played by the students of this nation:

"The year of Grace, 1563, the first day of the month of January, the nation being not at all suppressed, but still dismayed at the loss of so many of its members as well as by the loss of so many of its arms, caused by the great sedition which came upon the city in the preceding year, 1562, in the month of May, plucking up courage, resolved according to ancient custom to elect a chief by means of which it might be consoled, ruled, supported, etc."

Dumège makes an interesting observation concerning the students who joined in the Protestant uprising: "The students waited only for the signal to gird on their swords and to cover their heads with elegant morions adorned with chased work, which they had had imported at great expense from Italy."

At the annual gathering of the Floral Games on May 3, 1562, on the very eve of the outbreak, Guillaume Balista, of Narbonne, a student belonging to the nation of Languedoc, recited a *chant royal* before the judges in honor of the new king, Charles IX. This poem, which was awarded the Violet, is of interest as it apparently alludes to the great Protestant leader, the prince of Condé, and is further evidence of the interest of the students at Toulouse in the questions of the times:

Sur ma trompe entonons d'une alaine plus forte
Ung roy victorieus, sa puyssance et son loz;
Je ne veus plus chanter une louange morte,
Ou des vers enfantés d'un paresseus repos,
Ains hautement épris, d'une vive étincelle
Je chanterai aussi sa bonté paternelle,
De quel amour Il va, son peuple chérissant,
Commant Il se guerdonne et le rend fleurissant,
Quant Il faict son vouloir et la rude vengeance
De laquelle toujour va l'ingrat punyssant
Le roi qui tout remect soubz son obéyssance.
. . . . . .

Ce mutin cytoyen quy dans son cueur porte
L'envie et le discord, le rongeant jusqu'aus os,
Et de ses compaignons la favorable escorte,
Qui de tous malheurs sont les messagers dispos,
Se bandans contre luy et son peuple fidelle,
Le guerroyent sans fin d'une guerre mortelle,[80]
Ores trempent, cruelz, le glaive murtrissant
Dans le sang du plus juste et du plus inocent,
De qui la foy ne peult endurer violance,
Pour seigneur souverain, toujour recognoissant
Le Roi qui tout remect sous son obéyssance.[81]

. . . . . .

A royal edict of January, 1562, had granted the Huguenots the right to hold their services without the walls of the towns and cities throughout the kingdom. At Toulouse the Protestants erected a church just beyond the ramparts of the town in an old field, covered with briars and a thicket of wild shrubs, known as the *Champ d'Enfer* or Hell's Half-Acre. Here they held their religious services while their soldiers stood guard on the ramparts and at the gate of the city. One day one of the guards who was standing on the wall fired his gun accidentally, and the ball struck a nobleman from Quercy, who died from his wound. In spite of his protestations of innocence, the soldier was condemned by the parlement and executed. This occurrence proved to be the immediate cause of the trouble which culminated shortly afterwards in the uprising of May 12–17, when Toulouse endured all the horrors of civil war. The Huguenots were finally defeated, and severe penalties were issued by the parlement against the leaders, many of whom fled. The next year a general pardon was proclaimed and they were enabled to return to their firesides. The general peace which had been declared throughout France did not last, however, and events soon began to shape themselves toward the terrible events of 1572.

Entry of Charles IX

In the hope, says Cayla,[82] of reconciling the contending factions of south France, the queen mother, Catherine de Médicis, deter-

[80] Condé advocated war, Coligny peace.
[81] *Livre Rouge*, record for 1562.
[82] *Histoire de Toulouse*, p. 489.

mined to make a journey with her son, Charles IX, into Languedoc. The royal party journeyed through Burgundy, Lyons, Dauphiné, Provence, and on towards Toulouse, into which they made entry on February 2, 1565. The members of the parlement, the eight capitouls, the *bourgeois,* the students, and the common people crowded the streets to catch sight of the magnificent cavalcade which surrounded the child king. All of the public squares had been tapestried and decorated with a large number of triumphal arches. As the king approached the Place de la Pierre, a young girl, stepping out of a globe, floated down from the top of an arch of triumph dressed as a nymph and representing the legendary patroness of the Floral Games, Clémence Isaure. In her hands she bore three flowers of gold which were the three prizes of the Floral Games. Advancing into the presence of the king, she presented him with the three flowers, took her flight, and the globe whence she had issued closed again. Robert Garnier, at that time a student of law in Toulouse, and who in his later life was to win as a dramatist a lasting place in the history of French literature, composed a series of sonnets, three in number, in honor of the young sovereign. The last of these can not be read without thoughts of what later occurred:[83]

Hercules commença dès sa première enfance
A combattre, petit, les monstres inhumains,
Suffoquant, par l'effort de ses nerveuses mains,
Des dragons escaillez l'inutile puissance;

Toy, cheminant encor soubs l'eaige d'innocence,
La guerre et le discord as doublement esteinctz,
Les troubles mutineux dont noz coeurs estoient pleins,
Tu as, Sire, banny de la subjecte France.

Bien tost, quand les vingt ans auront roidy ton corps
Que tes membres moletz se cognoistrent plus fortz,
Ung hydre, ung Geryon te fauldra pour t'esbattre:

Il te fauldra purger ce monde vicieulx,
Le monde plein d'erreur il te fauldra combattre
Et, par là, te bastir un palais dans les cieulx.

[83] M. E. Roschach, *Les douze livres de l'histoire de Toulouse,* p. 192.

Five days after his arrival the king held his *lit de justice* in the great hall of the parlement. The king and his court sojourned in Toulouse until March 19, and the intervening period was one of continual rejoicing and festivity. The best houses were open day and night for ballets, dances, and masquerades. The king and queen were entertained lavishly by the capitouls and were invited every day to some new form of entertainment, such as "theatricals, races and tournaments."

La belle Paule

There lived at this time in Toulouse a woman by the name of Paule Viguier, who had long been celebrated for her beauty. Such was her reputation that Catherine de Médecis and Charles IX requested to see her. When Francis I had made his entry into Toulouse in 1533 he was met by a young nymph clad in white and girded with a blue scarf, who harangued him in French verses and tendered him the keys of the city. The youthful and graceful king, smitten with the charms of the beautiful Paule Viguier, at that time scarcely more than a child, called her "la belle Paule." With the passing of the years, the fame and beauty of Paule Viguier increased. There is a tradition that when she appeared in the streets the throngs became so great the capitouls in order to relieve the congestion ordained that she should show herself to the admiring populace at least twice each week, by appearing upon the balcony in front of her house. She became the subject of poetic inspiration to the local poets, and Gabriel de Minut, son of the former first president of the parlement, and to whom Du Bartas dedicated his *Uranie,* devoted a whole book in prose to her. This curious book, which came to be generally designated under the name of *Paulegraphie*[84] is a series of minute pen portraits of the various parts of the body of "la belle Paule,"—her eyes, her hair, her nose, etc. These individual portraits are preceded by a general picture of the physical charms and beauty of the object of the author's admiration. A few lines will suffice to show its nature:

[84] The full title is: "*La Paulegraphie, ou description des beautés d'une dame toulousaine, nommée la belle Paule:* Lyon, 1587. A good analysis and partial reproduction is contained in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile,* Paris, Techener, 1849.

Her head "was well rounded, her face rather small than large, her forehead broad and smooth, her hair was of a golden blond, falling in curls over her shoulders, her eyes were of a bright blue, her arched eyebrows were heavier in the middle than at the ends. The nose, which divided her face into two equal parts, was of a moderate size, straight and uniform; the mouth was well shaped, small and red. Her teeth, white and perfectly even, were concealed by lips whose freshness could be compared only with the matutinal rose," etc.

In passing, it is again of interest to note the influence of the times on the Floral Games. In 1564, in order to prevent young poets of Huguenot leanings from reading poems against the Catholic religion, the mainteneurs of the Floral Games appointed a special commission whose duty it was to censor the poems before they were admitted to the contests, at the same time passing a resolution prohibiting the reciting of any lascivious works, or of any others tending toward "scandal"; and upon penalty of imprisonment no works were to be recited unless they had been previously sanctioned by the commission. It was also enacted that no one carrying weapons should attend the meetings, create tumults and turmoil, or indulge in any sort of insolence.

In the fall of 1567 the university failed to open an account of the "troubles and wars." In view of the brawls and differences among the students, even in times of peace on account of the "diversity" of nations, the capitouls decided that lectures should cease until the times were less turbulent. The Estudes remained closed throughout this session. In this connection the secretary of the nation of Provence makes an interesting entry in his book. He says that in September two horrible blights fell upon the university; the first was the death of a professor beloved of the students by the name of Firmin. The second was the rebellion of the followers of "the so-called new religion, otherwise called Huguenots, who, having taken up arms against the king on Saint Michael's day, stirred up so much trouble and so many broils in this poor kingdom of France that every one was compelled to quit other things and run to arms to defend himself against the rebels. Wherefore, the Estudes of the present city of Toulouse

having been closed, nearly all the students went away, some retiring to their homes, others taking up arms for the king."

After the Massacre of St. Bartholomew at Paris on August 24, 1572, orders were sent all over France for similar massacres, and in some cities the commands were obeyed. At Toulouse the massacre took place on October 4, St. Francis's day. It was led by a student of the nation of Provence, named La Tour. The secretary of the nation gives an interesting account of the event and of the death of his fellow nationaire, La Tour:

"This same year (1572) great troubles arose all over France with regard to religion and heretics, and principally in the cities of Paris, Lyons and Toulouse. For our lord the king, Charles IX, determining to exterminate the traitors, who for the space of ten years had worried him in his kingdom by civil wars, finding opportunity to avenge himself at one blow for the treasons frequently committed against him, and these traitors having assembled in the aforesaid city of Paris, under pretext of the marriage of madame Marguerite, sister of the king, and monsieur the duke of Navarre, fomenter of the rebels, he so well executed his enterprise that in one evening and night were massacred fourteen or fifteen hundred of the principal ones of France. Following this same execution, those of Toulouse did not fail to imprison all the rebels who were at that time in the city, and having detained them for several days prisoners in the convents of the *Prescheurs, Carmes, Augustins,* and prisons of the city, the day of Saint Francis — thing very lamentable to behold — were massacred in the aforesaid prisons and outside. Among them was a monsieur Courras[86] who out of consideration for his learning, deserved not to be massacred, but fed at a Prytaneum, out of memory for the fruits which he had brought to the study of law. And certainly if I say that the principal ones who conducted the massacre were students, it will be with great regret. For it is a pitiable thing to hear of the sons of Minerva, humane and kind, being transformed into sons of Mars, cruel and bloody, seeing that otherwise they could proceed to the death of such people."[87]

From another folio we learn that the leader of the massacre, La Tour, was the acting prior of the nation of Provence. While

[86] Jean de Coras.

[87] It must be borne in mind that the original French from which this translation has been made was written by a young student, who very frequently expressed himself in awkward style.

accounts of the massacre differ, it seems fairly certain that it was the work, almost if not wholly, of a small group of students of the nations. The nation of Provence and their allies the Gascons had ten years before been on the side of the Huguenots.

"Monsieur de La Tour, then superintendent of the aforesaid nation, in the absence of monsieur de La Grange, prior, being then accompanied to the aforesaid massacre by a monsieur Dubourg, a student from Lyons in Dauphiné, and others, took some booty of silver and other things of great value, over which La Tour and Dubourg got into a contention. For La Tour quarrelled because Dubourg held back something on him, so that La Tour threatening the said Dubourg, to kill him or to give him a beating on sight, Dubourg anticipated him, feeling himself too weak to resist the said La Tour, for the renown that he had for being the most valiant and bold at arms that there was at that time in Toulouse. So that one day, encountering him in a side street, in the evening, the said Dubourg shot him in the thigh with a pistol, from which shot La Tour died at the college of Sainte-Catherine, of which he was a collegian and prior, at the end of three days. Thus, having treacherously and in a cowardly manner been killed by one who was by no means to be compared with him in the use of all sorts of arms, the nation was in great trouble, not so much at the outrage, as at the loss of such a man, who was more feared in Toulouse than liked, for the cruelties that people said he had committed with respect to those who were massacred. After which act, Dubourg was imprisoned and . . . justified himself not without great cost."

The fact that La Tour and his companions had slain in cold blood more than three hundred persons, many of them among the most prominent citizens of the town, did not weigh upon the chronicler as much as the loss of the head of the nation who was all the more valuable for the reputation that he had acquired from his bloody deed!

The archives at Toulouse contain little information on the massacre. Perhaps the best account of it is to be found in a contemporary historian. Since the writer was a Calvinist, his dispassionate and impersonal account is all the more valuable:

"At this time the Catholics of Toulouse also committed a massacre of the Protestants. Events happened there as follows: On Sunday a week after the massacre at Paris, the chief Catholics had information

as to what had happened and letters from the secret council concerning what they were to do. . . . The following Wednesday at ten o'clock in the morning, having parceled out their troops, they had them enter into the houses of the Protestants, who were dragged to prison in various convents and places of confinement. This was done everywhere on the Wednesday in question. The guard was doubled at the gates and a member of the parlement together with some Catholic merchant deputized to take command at each one of the gates, in order to scrutinize all who should go out and to keep back fugitives. Command was also given to deliver up any Protestants who were known to be in hiding, or else to be held to account. By which means some were discovered and made prisoners. Among these were five or six *conseillers,*[88] learned and prominent men, who consoled the others. Things remained thus for the space of three weeks. . . . After three weeks, they put all of these prisoners together in the Conciergerie; whereby their intention began to be known, for they had only delayed pending ample instructions from Paris, which were brought by their deputies named Delpech and Madron, rich *bourgeois,* who set forth the command of the king [Charles IX] that if the massacre had not yet taken place, they should not delay any longer in putting his will into execution. For this they were prompt. And a Saturday morning, before sun-up, some students, toughs and other rascals to the number of seven or eight, armed with axes and cutlasses, went into the said Conciergerie, and having the prisoners brought down one at a time, massacred them at the foot of the steps of this Conciergerie, without giving them a chance to speak or even to pray. It is claimed that they massacred as high as three hundred after having robbed and despoiled them of their belongings. They stretched them out in the square stark naked, even removing their shirts and leaving them as their only covering a sheet of paper to each one over his secret parts. . . ."[89]

As for the *conseillers,* they were hanged to the great elm in front of the Palais de Justice, attired in the red robes which they had been accustomed to wear as the insignia of their dignity in the parlement.

Conclusion

Our interest in the student life at Toulouse reaches its climax with the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew. As the seventeenth cen-

[88] Lawyers in the Parlement at Toulouse.

[89] *Mémoires de l'Estat de la France sous Charles IX* (1578). Quoted by Dumège.

tury approached, the task of controlling the students seems to have increased in difficulty, but to recite the various troubles that arose would be but a monotonous repetition of such scenes as have already been portrayed. Before leaving the subject, however, mention may be made of one more case of trouble which arose among the students. In 1618 Jean de Cérisay was captured while participating in a student brawl and was condemned to death. Because of his youth—he was barely nineteen—the death sentence was commuted to a long term of imprisonment in the Château d'If at Marseilles. This famous prison of State for political offenders was erected under Francis I in 1529 in the outer harbor of Marseilles. To-day it is known the world over as the scene of the first episode of that enchanting romance, the "Count of Monte Cristo" of Alexandre Dumas. What school boy or girl has not read with breathless interest the story of young Edmond Dantès and the mad *Abbé?* Here on his lonely rock in the midst of the sea let us take leave of Jean de Cérisay and of the students of Toulouse.

As has been seen, the students of Toulouse in the sixteenth century had their full share in the agitations of the times. They wielded their two-handed swords with sure effect. They were not always chivalrous, but they were no less so than their ancestors of the sword, the knights of the olden days. Like their predecessors they were true knights, defending what they thought were good and proper causes, and like them they intermingled a splendid spirit of courtesy with the coarsest brutality. They passed away; other students came to take their place, but at no period since has student life been so filled and brimming over with vitality and keen interest.

> "The knights are dust,
> And their good swords are rust,
> Their souls are with the saints we trust."

PART III

ÉTIENNE DOLET AT TOULOUSE
1532–1534

Orator and Prior

In his book on the literature of the Renaissance, Tilley[1] says of Étienne Dolet: "The life of this interesting man has been told by Christie[2] with such a rare combination of accurate learning, searching criticism, and generous sympathy, that there is no French humanist about whom we have such complete information. If his tragic fate has given him an interest somewhat greater than either his character or his attainments deserve, if his vanity, egotism, and quarrelsome temper make it difficult to accord him unreserved sympathy, his high enthusiasm for learning and sincere devotion to its interests must at any rate command our admiration." In speaking further of Christie's book, Tilley also remarks: "I know no single book which gives so graphic and so faithful a picture of French humanism."

It was not until the eighteenth century that Étienne Dolet became a subject of special study, when Maittaire devoted more than a hundred pages to him in his *Annales Typographici* (third volume). Christie, in his preface, says of this work of Maittaire:

"He has there collected every passage which he could find in the writings of Dolet where the latter speaks of himself, and every other reference known to him in any contemporary author, and his pages have always been, and must continue to be, the basis of all subsequent biographies of Dolet. But the work of Maittaire is only a collection of extracts and remarks heaped together without any order or arrangement, and being written in Latin has attracted few readers other than professed scholars."

[1] *The Literature of the Renaissance*, 2 vols., Cambridge University Press, 1904. See vol. i, p. 24.

[2] *Étienne Dolet, the Martyr of the Renaissance*, Macmillan & Co., revised edition, 1899.

The first regular biography of Dolet was that of Née de la Rochelle, which appeared at Paris in 1779. The title of this book is: *Vie d'Étienne Dolet, Imprimeur à Lyon dans le seizième siècle: Avec une Notice des Libraires & Imprimeurs Auteurs que l'on a pu découvrir jusqu'à ce jour.*" It is a brief narrative, for the most part made up of an arrangement and translation into French of the materials of Maittaire. From the title, it is to be seen that Née de la Rochelle has treated Dolet as a printer. In 1857, another Frenchman, Joseph Boulmier, published a biography of Dolet under the title: *Estienne Dolet, sa Vie, ses Œuvres, son Martyre* (Paris, Aubry). In this work Boulmier shows himself an enthusiastic and sympathetic admirer, and to him, Dolet is a hero and "le Christ de la pensée libre." The author calls his work a dithyramb; it is filled with exaggerated praise. He writes as an advocate, and Dolet is his client. The first attempt at a comprehensive and impartial history of Dolet was that of Richard Copley Christie, the title of whose book has already been noted. To him, Dolet was a martyr of the Renaissance, or more strictly speaking, of that phase of it known as humanism.

Christie is correct in making Dolet's stay at Toulouse the starting point of the career that led him to the stake in the Place Maubert at Paris in 1546, and while he assembled a great deal of material touching Dolet's career at Toulouse, he was not able to give the proper interpretation to his data. It is the present writer's purpose here to arrange the materials on Dolet in their logical sequence, and to endeavor to give a reasoned and, so far as possible, correct interpretation.

Life of Dolet

Étienne Dolet was born at Orléans. Christie gives the date of his birth as 1508, stating as proof: "In the preface to his *Commentaries on the Latin Tongue,* addressed to Guillaume Budé, and dated 22 of April 1536, he tells us that he was then twenty-seven years of age, and that he was sixteen when Francis I was taken prisoner at the battle of Pavia (24 Feb. 1525)." Dolet has left an account of his earlier life, so it is better, perhaps, to let him tell us concerning himself in his own words. In a letter from Toulouse of April 22, 1534, also addressed to his friend Budé, Dolet tells the story of his life up to that time:

"I now come to the latter part of your letter, and since you say that you have been able in some measure to judge of my learning, but that you know nothing of my mode of life or position, I will now give you at length both an account of my life and my present position.

"I was born at Orléans, a noble city of our Gaul and of much renown, in how honourable and indeed distinguished a position among my fellow-citizens I leave those to speak of who place virtue below birth. Liberally brought up at Orléans, at twelve years of age I went to Paris, where I received the rudiments of my education, and diligently devoted myself to all those subjects by which young men are accustomed to be trained to mental culture. For five years I there cultivated my mind, giving myself up principally to the study of Cicero. Soon, influenced by a desire of cultivating the highest eloquence, I betook myself to Italy; there I passed three years at Padua in intimate friendship and association with Simon Villanovus,[3] by whose death being deprived of so dear a friend, and one who was so great a help to my studies, I thought of returning forthwith to France. But I was detained for some time longer in Italy, as well at the request as by the authority of Jean de Langeac, who at that time filled the office of ambassador to Venice, and who employed me to write letters both to the Supreme Pontiff and to other correspondents. In this employment another year was added to the three which I had already spent in Italy; nor, though I wished it, was I able to return, but was compelled to wait until the business of the embassy was finished, and then in the Ambassador's company I returned to France less ignorant and more devoted to the study of eloquence than I had left it. Now I think you know the greater part of my history. The rest I will relate in a few words. Now that I am returned to France I resolutely pursue the same course which I began in my earliest youth. I am absorbed in literature; and as from the first, out of all the number of the Latin writers I set Cicero before me as my model, so now I am writing commentaries on the Ciceronian diction, adding also illustrations from the pure language of Sallust, Cæsar, Terence, and Livy. This useful work will appear in due time, with my other lucubrations. I thus pass over the second act of my drama and proceed to the last. By the advice of many patrons and friends who are always helping me with their most loving and friendly counsels, and who wish me to be covered with honours and to aspire to the highest reputation, I have decided to devote myself to the civil law, which I

[3] Villanovus (French: Villeneuve) was one of the leaders of that phase of humanism known as Circeronianism. Under his influence Dolet became the acknowledged leader of the Ciceronians in France.

have thought not to be altogether opposed to the course of my studies. For certainly my oratorical power may be very much embellished by legal studies, and may even be considerably assisted by them. In order to devote myself to these subjects as satisfactorily as possible, and to follow the advice of those who say that no art can be properly studied without a teacher and without some practical instruction, and who assert that the civil law especially needs both a teacher and an explanation, I have come to Toulouse, a city of greater celebrity and renown than of real knowledge of the civil law, and the inhabitants of which are more barbarous than the Getæ or the Scythians. But be this as it may, no rudeness of this barbarous city withdraws me from my design. I have now devoted to the civil law not much less than two years continuously, and I have so spent my time that I have given some hours each morning or evening to the reading of Cicero. The remainder of the day I give to my principal subject, either in private study or public exercises. Thus I devote myself to the science of law as my friends wish me to do and as I am not ashamed of doing, for certainly a knowledge of law will be a great assistance and recommendation to me in seeking for public employment, and at the same time it will increase my power of expressing myself by giving me an insight into the true and just. It is not however certain that I shall finish my legal studies at Toulouse, as I am thinking of setting out for Padua or Pavia in order to see Alciat and the other Italian professors of law utter their *sesquipedalia verba* with solemn pomp, or furiously attack Accursius and Bartholus,[4] lest they should seem to know too little. I shall then insinuate myself into some one's intimacy with whom to laugh in a learned and familiar manner at these matters.

"I hope before long to make a journey to Paris and to meet you there face to face. If before this happens you write a letter to meet me on the way informing me of your health and telling me what is passing at Paris, I shall believe that you keep me in your memory, and you will gain this advantage, that when I come to see you you will not have to narrate to me what you have already written. Farewell. Toulouse 22nd April.[5]

The above is a clear account of Étienne Dolet's life, written by himself, and we have no reason to doubt the statements contained

[4] The chief commentators of the *Pandects* of Justinian, whose commentaries were the principal textbooks for the study of civil law during the scholastic or mediæval period.

[5] *Orationes duæ in Tholosam*, p. 103. Translation by Christie, pp. 153–156.

HOTEL D'ASSÉZAT

Present Home of the Floral Games of Toulouse

in it. From his own mouth we learn that Dolet had studied "not much less than two years continuously" at Toulouse when the letter to Budé was written. Dolet means of course scholastic sessions, and that he had entered the university two years previously, either at the beginning of the summer term (lasting from June 22 to October 18) or at the opening of the winter term. The regular opening of the winter term of the university was always the day following St. Luke's, that is, October 19. According to this, he had spent at least one and one-half calendar, or almost two scholastic, years in Toulouse. He had entered the university in 1532, and since he came from Paris he no doubt automatically became a member of the nation of France. As a first-year student he was a *béjaune*. Only after he had passed his freshman year, or at least towards the close of it, could he have been admitted into full membership in the corporation. His admission to full fellowship must have followed the ceremony of "purging of infection" when he assumed the name of "antique" and became eligible to hold office. At the time of his admission (or shortly after it), he was elected orator of his nation. At the first assembly of the nations, including no doubt all of the alliances, which was held in the Estudes on October 9, 1533, Dolet in his official capacity of "orator" made the address for his nation. This was the first of two orations delivered by him at Toulouse, and afterwards published.[6]

In 1531, a few days before the close of the session, the parlement had on June 23 passed an *arrêt* or edict suppressing the nations and forbidding the students to form new ones under pain of banishment and confiscation of their goods.[7] As to whether the nations at this time disbanded we are not informed, but we know that they were again organized by the spring of 1533. After the edict of 1531, there is no record of trouble arising between the students and the authorities until January, 1533, when a student Jean d'Albi, who had been captured in a *rixe* between students and the soldiers of the *guet*, had given up his arms and had begged protection of the captain of the *guet*. This protection was refused, and Jean d'Albi was murdered. His murder became the occasion of a decree of the

[6] The title is given in the note above.

[7] See part ii, page 121.

parlement against the captain of the *guet,* who had been imprisoned and whose liberty was demanded by the seneschal. It is well to note in passing that there was a struggle in process between the seneschal (and his officers) and the parlement; also that the seneschal and the soldiers of the *guet* under his jurisdiction were constantly on bad terms with the nations. To both of these situations we shall have occasion to refer later.

It seems that the parlement did not at this time attempt to enforce the decree dissolving the nations, but was content with forbidding the sale or storing of arms. But on May 21 the capitouls passed an ordinance forbidding the students to form processions with *tambours* and *trompettes,* and to carry arms. This regulation was doubtless passed in view of spring elections and the "Triumphs" which followed, when the students paraded through the streets of the city with arms at their sides. At the close of the session in June, the capitouls passed another ordinance prohibiting the students from grouping into nations of France, Spain, Gascony, Britanny, Navarre, etc., and ordering the bodily arrest of those who should be caught armed. This ordinance was passed with the knowledge and consent of the parlement as by this time the discipline of the students had passed under the jurisdiction of that body.

In the previous chapter mention has been made of the trouble that arose in 1533 between the capitouls and the university over the question of taxation. A fuller account of these troubles is necessary for a better understanding of the situation at the opening of the university in October, 1533.

Among the ancient privileges of the university was that of exemption from taxes. At this moment, a struggle was in progress between the members of the university and the capitouls with regard to taxation, the latter insisting that the university should be taxed, the former asserting that the ancient privileges granted at the founding of the university still held good. This quarrel, which had been going on for some time, reached an acute stage in the summer of 1533. In February, the *conseil du roi* had recognized an appeal of the regents of the university against the capitouls, calling upon the latter to make restitution of money collected from the former in

the form of taxes. On June 15, the *conseil de ville* composed of capitouls and bourgeois[8] voted a tax of fifty thousand *livres* to defray the costs of the entry of king Francis I, who was to visit Toulouse at the end of July. The professors refused to be taxed for defraying expenses incurred by the city, and declared that they would hold a separate reception for the king. A deliberation was held on July 9 by the capitouls, who decided that the university must contribute to the expenses of the royal reception. On July 26, two representatives of the university appeared before the consistory or meeting of the capitouls to settle the order of the march upon that occasion. The university desired that the rector should be placed next to the king. The capitouls decided that the clergy should have the precedence and that the university should have second place. That this was regarded as a lack of deference to the university may be inferred from the fact that the two professors who composed the committee obtained a writ from the *greffier* or secretary of the consistory of the capitouls relieving them of any responsibility in the decision, in order that they might not be subjected to criticism by their colleagues.

Blaise d'Auriol.

Francis I arrived at Toulouse in the last days of July, 1533. On August 1 he gave letters patent confirming the ancient privileges of the university and giving it power to create *chevaliers ès lois*. On the same day Blaise d'Auriol, professor of law and later chancellor of the university, was created *chevalier ès lois* in the presence of the king. As has already been stated in the previous chapter, Blaise d'Auriol was one of the leading literary reactionaries of Toulouse in the earlier Renaissance and was the *bête noire* of the humanists. Since he was one of the leading opponents of the humanists, and therefore of Dolet, it is fitting that further account be given of him at this point. He was born at Castelnaudary in the latter part of the fifteenth century. A marginal note on the *Leys d'Amors* says that he became a mainteneur of the Floral Games in 1522. The secretary's record of the Floral Games contained in the *Livre Rouge,* of the year 1513, designates him as

[8] A title of lower nobility borne by ex-capitouls.

maître. This means that he had won all three of the principal prizes: the *Gauch* or *Souci,* the *Églantine* and the *Violette.* The record of the *Livre Rouge* also shows that in 1539 he was the vice chancellor of the Floral Games. He was an *homme d'Église,* chancellor of the university, and made pretensions of being a poet. Dubédat[9] speaks of him in the following terms: ". . . friend of Mellin de Saint-Gelais, one of the keenest spirits of the Renaissance, canonist and poet, whom Bodin[10] confounded with a president of the parlement, and whose candor and *naïveté* were so great that he had a boat built in which he hoped to escape a second Flood proclaimed by the preachings of this period. He was given the sword, the girdle, the baldrick, the gold spurs, the chain, and the ring bearing a seal with his arms engraved upon it. . . . He had special praise for being the first of the name to write eloquently in French.[11] A century later, when Blaise Pascal writes the *Provinciales,* the literary glory of Blaise Auriol will be scarcely remembered." Following the fashion of the early Renaissance, Blaise d'Auriol latinized his name and was known as *Auriolli.* The custom of latinizing names led to such confusion that a royal decree of Henry II in 1555 forbade such changes in the future without royal permission. In 1509, Blaise d'Auriol published a work in verse entitled: *La chasse et le départ d'Amour.* Some of the early editions of this work bear both the names of Mellin de Saint-Gelais and of Blaise d'Auriol, but it is not probable that the former had anything to do with its composition. When, in the eighteenth century, the poems of Charles d'Orléans were brought to light and published, it was discovered that the book of Blaise d'Auriol was a plagiarism. Its author had made some attempts at modernizing the spelling of

[9] *Op. cit.,* vol. I.

[10] Jean Bodin, author of the *République.*

[11] Blaise d'Auriol's native language was that of Toulouse, the *langue d'oc.* He began to write just at the moment when French was substituted for the native tongue as the language for literature. His reputation locally was no doubt greatly due to the fact that he could write in French. Furthermore, he began his career as a writer just at the time when the influence of the *Rhétoriqueurs* became widespread over France. D'Auriol imitated their worst faults. To the people of Toulouse the *Rhétoriqueur* style of literature was new, and for this reason as well as because he could write in French, Blaise d'Auriol acquired a reputation beyond his merits.

the older poet and had inserted certain verses of his own.[12] The work as a whole embodies a theme which was commonplace in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the grief of a lover at losing his mistress. The following stanza is a good illustration of Blaise d'Auriol's ability as a poet:

Hélas! Mort, tu cours
Par dangereux cours,
Suivant champs et cours!
En tes lacs je suis,
Mes pas sont trop courts;
Pas à pas me suis.
Au cœur je me cuis;
Mes plaisirs sont fuis.

De Santi,[13] in speaking of Auriol, says: "The court had brought into fashion *jeux d'esprit* after the manner of Alain Chartier and François Villon; it was in keeping with good manners to be able to quote from the *Roman de la Rose,* and with Martin Le Franc, Guillaume Alexis, Jean Marot and twenty others, there had inundated France an efflorescence of allegorical poems upon feminine honor, *blasons, folles* and *faulces amours,* etc. This poetic flood cast up Blaise d'Auriol."

Paul Lacroix in his *Histoire de l'Imprimerie* (p. 99) mentions *La chasse et le départ d'Amour* as one of the earliest books in France protected by a copyright or privilège:

"Et a donné le Roy nostre Sire audict Verard[14] lettres de privilèges et termes de troys ans pour vendre et distribuer lesdictz livres, affin de soy rembourser de ses frais et mises. Et deffend ledict Seigneur à tous imprimeurs et libraires de ce royaulme de non imprimer ledict livre jusques à troys ans sur peine de confiscation desdictz livres."

Blaise d'Auriol was the *alter ego* of Gracien du Pont, the enemy of Dolet of whom we shall speak later, and was held in contempt by the humanists at Toulouse. When he was created *chevalier* it fell to the lot of one of his colleagues in the faculty of law, Pierre

[12] See De Santi: *La réaction universitaire à Toulouse à l'époque de la Renaissance: Blaise d'Auriol. Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences,* Toulouse, 1906, pp. 27 ff.

[13] In article whose title is given in note above.

[14] The book was published by Verard at Paris in 1509.

Daffis, to bestow upon him the accolade. "The ceremony was solemn," says Gélis,[15] "and the humanist clan too happy to divert itself at the expense of a rival whom it detested." Arnaud du Ferrier, in a letter to Jehan de Boysson, speaks derisively of the knighting of Auriol:

"You inform me of the great, the very great honor that the king has done us in permitting us to arm as knights people who have never learned how to mount or to descend from a horse . . .; now we shall see Auriol mount, and soon after the others. As for Auriol, he is very worthy of it, for it is easy for a man, so long versed in the art of naval battles, to rapidly acquire the art of battles on land. . . . Recall the time when there was widespread fear of a new Flood: Auriol, doubting the word of God, had a vessel built, and I remember having seen this ark in his garden, solidly constructed and well rigged for resisting the tempests. . . ."

R. de Boysson[16] says that Auriol was the first native of Toulouse who learned to write correctly in the *langue d'oïl*, and that he published poems in French very much appreciated by his contemporaries.

The decision of the capitouls to tax the professors to defray the expenses of the royal entry was appealed by the latter, provoking a petition from the capitouls to the conseil du roi in which they requested the "conseil" not to permit the professors to carry their case before the parlement. This action on the part of the capitouls had been preceded by letters patent from Francis I, dated August 5, 1533, authorizing them to tax all of the inhabitants, privileged or not, to meet the amount expended upon his entry.

When the university opened in the autumn, the students and professors alike were in a ferment of excitement. The latter were not only filled with indignation at the encroachment upon their ancient privileges, but also stung by the affront of the capitouls in assigning them second place in the line of march at the royal entry. The students were wrought up over the attempt of the capitouls to carry out the decree of the parlement abolishing the nations and were also influenced by feelings of sympathy for their teachers.

[15] *Les Jeux Floraux pendant la Renaissance, Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de Toulouse* for 1919, p. 145.

[16] *Un Humaniste toulousain*, p. 71.

The spirit of unrest was in the air. An even greater source of disturbance was the fact that the entry of Francis I had given renewed impetus to the cause of humanism at Toulouse.

As stated in the previous chapter, the new spirit of humanism had begun to manifest itself about 1525 at Toulouse, and was especially active from 1533 to 1536. One of the most characteristic phases of humanism was the cult or worship of Cicero. "There had been formed at this time a literary sect rather curious to study, that of the Ciceronians; after having for centuries neglected the study of antiquity, people had gone to the other extreme, and they scorned all that was not Rome or Athens; some unbalanced spirits who had become the too passionate admirers of the language of Cicero, sought to use no expression or turn of speech which was not to be found in this orator of genius."[17] This mania, attacked and turned into ridicule by Erasmus, in a *Dialogue*[18] full of common sense and shrewdness, had several notable champions at Toulouse, and among them Étienne Dolet, who later became the recognized leader of the Ciceronians and the chief opponent of Erasmus.

By 1533, the university had become a stronghold of the New Thought. Professors and students were divided on the question, some being ardent champions of the new spirit, others clinging tenaciously to the old scholastic ideas and methods. The world-old struggle between progressives and reactionaries was reenacted. The visit of Francis I, the magnificent patron of art and letters, the protector of the humanists of France, filled the hearts of the progressives at Toulouse with renewed ardor and zeal. Their enthusiasm and boldness were further increased by the arrival of three prominent humanists, who were to occupy chairs in the university. Mathieu du Pac, who had fled to Italy to escape the Inquisition, had returned to occupy the chair of pontifical or canon law; Jehan de Boysson, who had been compelled to make the *amende honorable* in the presence of a multitude assembled in the Place Saint-Étienne and who afterwards had retired to Italy, was to resume the chair of civil law; Jean de Coras, a former pupil of Boysson, was to open a *cours libre* in civil law, and by the reign of Henry II was to attract

[17] Gaullieur, *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne*, p. 84.

[18] *Dialogus Ciceronianus, seu de optimo dicendi genere.*

about him no less than four thousand students. The arrival of these three representatives of the new ideas was received with enthusiasm by the youth, who attacked *barbarie* (the term used by the humanists as a name for their opponents, the adherents of the old scholasticism) with renewed violence, and who freely insulted the capitouls and the other notables of the town.

The religious question also had its effect upon the state of mind of the professors and students at the opening of the university in 1533. The reform inaugurated by Luther had early made its appearance in Toulouse. The humanists, although later sharply differentiated from them, at first made common cause with the reformers. Toulouse is said to have had ten thousand students in the first half of the sixteenth century. Many of them were Germans, who, together with the humanists, no doubt spread the new ideas in the university circles, while on the outside the humble colporters worked among the people. For several years France had been literally overrun by men called colporters, who, with packs on their backs, appeared at the châteaux, in the villages, and even in the larger towns, to barter their merchandise. Beneath articles of wearing apparel with which they were loaded, were concealed booklets which they sold for little or nothing, more often distributing them gratuitously. What they were scattering broadcast at the risk of their lives (for if they were caught they would receive no quarter) was the word of God. Through the medium of such people, says Florimond de Rémond (an ardent Catholic), France was soon supplied with New Testaments *à la française,* and the holy word of God prostituted for all classes of people. They went out of their way to distribute Bibles, Catechisms, *Boucliers,* and other such books.[19]

Notable champions of reform passed through Toulouse on their way to and from the court at Nérac of their royal protector, Margaret, queen of Navarre. Among them were Marot, Melancthon, and later Calvin and Bèze. In various ways the religious question had become a burning issue, and the usual results had followed. Two monks, Flavius and Nuptiis, had arrived there preaching reforms in the organization of the church. They were arrested,

[19] Gaullieur: *Histoire du Collège de Guyenne,* p. 153.

severely reprimanded, deprived of the right to preach, and were compelled to make a public *amende honorable* for their errors. This trouble was followed by the arrest of several of the students and three of the professors: Jehan de Boysson, Mathieu du Pac and Otho. The last two escaped by fleeing to Italy. Boysson was fined and compelled to make public abjuration of his errors. Lafaille in his *Annales de Toulouse,* says that he was compelled to mount a scaffold in the Place Saint-Étienne. Dressed in a gray robe, with head bare and shaven, he was forced to sign a written recantation in the presence of the Inquisitor of the Faith,[20] and to pronounce one verbally before the assembled magistrates and inhabitants of the town. In 1532 one of the professors, Jean de Caturce, was burned at the stake for heresy.

It is evident that by the fall of 1533 a reaction had set in against religious persecution, for Jehan de Boysson and Mathieu du Pac were allowed to return and resume their duties in the university. Francis I himself seemed to favor the reform, and for a moment it appeared that the movement would reach a speedy and happy triumph. But the chances of the reformers were given a check by the memorable day of the Placards, October 18, 1534. At any rate, the presence of Francis I in Toulouse made it more safe in all probability for those who were suspected of heresy. That a revulsion of feeling had set in against the execution of Jean de Caturce, and that there was greater liberty of speech during the session of 1533–34, is evidenced by the attack of Dolet in one of his orations, concerning which we shall speak later.

Traditionally, the students were of a turbulent disposition and only too ready for a pretext to engage in a brawl. But all of the things mentioned above gave to the session of 1533–34 a peculiarly violent character, and the explanation of Dolet's career at Toulouse lies in these struggles and brawls of the nations in that year.

Étienne Dolet had been nurtured in the New Learning all his life, and upon his arrival in Toulouse had but lately returned from a stay of nearly five years in Italy, the cradle of the Renaissance. The ardent cultivation of his favorite author, Cicero, together with his natural gifts, caused him to stand out among the students as an

[20] The Inquisition, established at Toulouse at the close of the Albigensian Crusade, was abolished only in 1772.

orator. As stated previously, he could hold no office in the nation until he had become a full-fledged member, but he had doubtless during his first year found opportunity for displaying his oratorical talent and for showing his skill and prowess with the "two-handed sword," in the use of which Rabelais testifies[21] that the students at Toulouse were very proficient. The students of the Italian universities were grouped into nations, and Dolet had in all probability, during the course of five years, had good training in the student activities peculiar to most of the European universities of that day. Besides, his having been in Italy and having been allied with a number of leading humanists of the time, would give him prestige at Toulouse; and his age would give him an influence beyond that of the ordinary *béjaune*.

First Oration

Dolet was twenty-four years of age when he arrived in Toulouse,—beyond the age at which students in those days usually entered upon their university studies. One of the marvelous features of the Renaissance is the early age at which many of the most brilliant humanists entered upon their careers. Philippe Béroalde opened a school at nineteen. Andreas Alciati was at twenty internationally famous as a jurisconsult. Jean de Coras became *professeur libre* at Toulouse when only eighteen, and at twenty occupied one of the chairs of civil law in the university of Padua. Robert Estienne, the printer, was correcting proofs in Greek and Hebrew at eighteen. Thus, all things combined to call attention to Dolet and to give him a prominent place in the student life of Toulouse. While as a *béjaune* he could not hold office, as soon as he became an *antique* he was eligible, and was at once honored. Appointed to the post of orator, as stated above, he delivered the oration of the nation of France in the Estudes at the general assembly of the nations on October 9, 1533. The date of the delivery of the address was, according to Dolet's own statement: *ante diem septimum Idus Octobris.*[22] Christie dismisses the contents of it in the following words:

[21] See page 101.

[22] Orat. Duæ, p. 28.

"The oration, at least in the form in which, after being revised and corrected, it was published by Dolet two years later, presents little that is worthy of our attention. It is full of vigor and vivacity, written in sonorous and well-rounded Ciceronian sentences, showing the utmost contempt for and by no means wanting in abuse of the Parliament and the magistrates of Toulouse, stuffed with fine-sounding phrases on the advantages of friendship and of social union, and on the tyranny and the barbarity of the magistrates who had forbidden the enlightened and intelligent French students to unite together, and so separate from the barbarians among whom they were thrown. But I find no passage worthy of quotation. As the rhetorical exercise of a young Ciceronian, an ardent student, a good Latin scholar, full of the sentiments and expressions of his master, caring nothing for consequences, reckless who is offended, utterly wanting in judgment, desirous only to display his indignation, and with it his scholarship, it is excellent, but it deals too much in generalities, and is indeed in all respects too much of a rhetorical exercise to detain us."[23]

Christie's judgment of the oration as such, or from a literary point of view, is excellent and true; but the significance of the speech seems to have escaped the biographer completely. Dolet's career at Toulouse must be interpreted almost wholly in the light of his position as an officer of a nation and as a poet of the Floral Games.

It is not probable that the oration of Dolet was more violent or intemperate than such speeches frequently were, but the impression upon the audience was no doubt greater than would ordinarily have been the case, both because of the tenseness of the situation and because of the speaker's ability as an orator. Simon Finet (*Finetius* is the latinized form which he used), fellow-student and close companion of Dolet, describes the effect of the oration upon the audience:

"As an orator, our Estienne is beyond compare. His delivery passes and repasses lightly between the simple and the profound,[24] eloquent in his gestures, expressive of face, with a voice as variedly supple as his

[23] Christie, *op. cit.*, pp. 100–101.

[24] Boulmier's translation of the passage reads: "Son débit fait succéder tour à tour la douceur et là gravité." Compare with this the following lines from Boileau:

"Heureux celui qui sait, d'une voix légère,
Passer du doux au grave, du plaisant au sévère."

subject, he has everything in his favor. But what is the use of dwelling on that? You have heard him yourself, thundering from the height of his rostrum; and you know as well as I what a silence of admiration hovered then over the whole audience!" [25]

In his oration Dolet exalted the French with a "dithyrambic patriotism," whilst on the other hand, he accused Toulouse of *barbarie*,[26] and flayed the officials for attempting to break up the nations. His attacks had a threefold significance. In the first place, he was voicing the feelings of the students as a whole against the injustice committed against them in breaking up their associations. In the second place, Dolet could not let such a good opportunity slip for giving vent to his own feeling as a humanist against the barbarians. In this, he voiced the sentiments of a certain percentage of his audience. In the last place, and most important of all in interpreting the situation, Dolet's oration was a subtle and vicious attack on the alliance of the southern nations. In this, he expressed the most hearty sentiments of the northern alliance composed of the French, Burgundians, Normans, Bretons, etc. That the nations of the South—Gascons, Languedocians, Provençaux, etc.—took his oration in this light is proven by the fact that when Pierre Pinache (*Petrus Pinachius*), orator for the Gascons,[27] came to speak, he made a reply to Dolet. Another evidence is that Dolet's friend, Simon Finet, who was present, had the following to say concerning Pinache's reply:

"When the orator [Dolet] had performed his duty, a certain Gascon arose, a grammarian,[28] a popular man, and one held in favor by the

[25] Finetius Claudio Cotteræo salutem, *Orationes duæ in Tholosam.* Tr. of Boulmier.

[26] "The word *barbarie* written or spoken by Erasmus and Aleandre had the same meaning as in the verses of Boysson and Voulté; it meant 'that coalition of errors and prejudices, routines and passions, which opposed a resistance, at times successful, but always stubborn and violent, to the movement of the Renaissance.'"—R. de Boysson, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[27] De Santi calls Pinache a Basque and gives his name: Pierre Pinaqui.

[28] When in 1229 a treaty of peace was concluded between Raymond VII, Count of Toulouse, and Blanche of Castille, one of the conditions of the treaty was that Raymond should support for a term of ten years a certain number of professors, thus establishing the university of Toulouse. Among the teachers, it was specified that two should be professors of grammar. In this way, a separate faculty of grammar arose at Toulouse. Rabanus Maurus defined

students, who, that he might use the more impudence, might more petulantly abuse the French, and heap more insults on Dolet, pretended that he had to defend as well the dignity of the Parliament of Toulouse which had been impaired by Dolet, as the cause of the injured Gascons." [29]

Not only would the Gascons feel aggrieved at the fiery eloquence of Dolet, but we can imagine that their feelings were still further ruffled by the hoots and jeers of Dolet's comrades from the North. Pinache's reply has not been preserved, so we do not know just what he said, but he was probably no match for Dolet, and the latter made a scathing rejoinder which no doubt overwhelmed and silenced his opponent.

The quotation given above not only shows the real reason why Pinache took umbrage, but also shows that Finet understood perfectly well that Pinache was a hypocrite in pretending to defend

"grammar" as "the art of explaining poets and historians, the art of correct speaking and writing," which included the study of the grammarians Donatus and Priscian, and the works of the classical authors, such as Statius, Virgil, Lucan, Juvenal, Horace, Ovid, Sallust, Cicero, Martial, Petronius, Symmachus, Suetonius, Livy and Seneca. By the fourteenth century the chief texts at Toulouse had become the *Doctrinale* of Alexandre de Villedieu; the *Græcismus* of Eberhard of Béthune; a third text commonly known as the *Alexander;* and Priscian. By the later middle ages the study of ancient authors came to be confined to the elementary reading books *Cato, Æsopus* and *Avianus.* The *Cato* was a collection of maxims and proverbs. The other two, as is obvious, were collections of fables. Lectures were given *de Historiis Alexandri,* probably the *Alexandreis* of Gautier de Lille, the popular epic poem on the deeds of Alexander the Great, which in the mediæval period had come into vogue as a text-book. The grammarians at Toulouse had a monopoly of teaching the subjects included in their faculty. Two of Dolet's most bitter enemies were Pinache and another grammarian by the name of Maurus. It can readily be seen that there would be inevitable hostility between these representatives of the perverted study of the classics, and the humanists, who stood for the restoration of the study of the best classical authors. Thus the struggle between the humanists and grammarians must be taken into account in considering Dolet's career at Toulouse. Christie hints that the hostility between Dolet and Maurus may have been occasioned by Maurus winning the prize at the Floral Games over Dolet. In the light of the above, the source of hostility between the two is easily discernible. Christie was evidently not aware of the significance of the term "grammarian."—On the subject of "grammar" at Toulouse, see Louis John Paetow: *"The Arts Course at Medieval Universities with Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric," Illinois University Studies,* 1908–10. Also his *"The Battle of the Seven Arts,"* University of California Press, 1914.

[29] Preface to *Orat. duæ in Tholosam.* Tr. by Christie, p. 102.

the parlement against Dolet's invectives. Pinache had no more use for the parlement than had Dolet. However much the alliances and the various individual nations might quarrel and strive among themselves, they were united when it came to their hatred of the representatives of law and order. The students of the university had in the beginning been under the discipline of the church, and certain privileges had been granted them by the pope. With the rapid growth of the authority of the king of France, they had passed under the jurisdiction of the king's chief officer, the seneschal.[30] With the rise of the parlement in the fifteenth century to a place of constantly increasing importance, and with the corresponding weakening of ecclesiastical control and of the influence of the seneschalty, the discipline of the students had passed into the hands of the parlement. This, the students had resented; their sentiment had crystallized and had become a tradition; so when the parlement had arbitrarily sought to dissolve the organizations, the students were filled with a righteous and holy indignation at what they considered an encroachment on their ancient privileges. Their grievance was as real and as well based as was that of the professors against the capitouls. The disciplinary measures which the parlement passed from time to time were executed by the capitouls and the officers of the seneschal. To the students, the police or *guet* were *fourrous,* and they were held in contempt and derision. The Estudes were considered by the students as a place of sanctuary, any invasion of which by the officers was sure to cause a *rixe.* So Pinache's defense of law and order could not have been sincere, and his fellow-students must have understood it that way. In order that the reader may have a first-hand knowledge of the oration of Dolet, it is fitting to include at this point two extracts from it:

"Unless he lives in exile at the other end of the world, there is no one who does not know what a great throng of youths and men of all ages the study of law attracts to Toulouse from the most varied and the most distant lands. And since, torn from the arms of those whom they hold dear, they find themselves in the presence of strange faces, since they have left their natal roof for unknown abodes, and the society of human beings for that of the barbarians (indeed, why should I hesi-

[30] In reality, the lieutenant of the seneschalty at Toulouse became practically independent of the seneschal, who resided elsewhere in Langue d'Oc.

tate to dub them barbarians, those who prefer primitive savagery to the free and untrammeled thought which distinguishes man?)[31] and finally, since they have emigrated from among friends to enemies, does not the unanimous consent of the immortal gods and of men approve that love of country, that this reciprocal affection which dates from the cradle, be established between them, French to French, Italian to Italian, Spaniard to Spaniard? Have they not the right, in the name of this eternal love, to assemble, to embrace, to form respectively each a single body? No! . . . For on that subject the parlement grows alarmed, all Toulouse is in a state of ebullition. Hence come these tragedies of which we are the heroes, hence these official decrees which pursue us, hence these prætorian sentences which overwhelm us. And what is our crime, after all? Our crime is our combining, living together as good comrades, aiding each other mutually like brothers. Immortal gods! In what country are we? Among what people do we live? The coarseness of the Scythians, the monstrous barbarity of the Getæ,—have they made an irruption into this city in order that the human pests who inhabit it may hate, persecute, and thus proscribe sacred thought?"[32]

"Do you not perceive by this token the manifest coarseness, the horrible wickedness of those men? That altar of mutual love which nature kindles unceasingly in our hearts they have tried to extinguish; that fraternity which the gods themselves inspire in us they have tried to stifle; that right of free assembly to which all fellow-feelings prompt us they have tried to destroy! If it is necessary to proscribe pitilessly all association of foreigners, why then, by virtue of such arbitrariness and tyranny, have not these same associations been prohibited at Rome and at Venice? On the contrary, at Venice as at Rome, French, Germans, English, Spaniards, Dalmatians, and Tartars, even those whose belief is diametrically opposed to ours, Turks, Jews, Arabs or Moors, in short, the representatives of all the races in the world preserve intact their own laws and their national immunities, and assemble freely and without blame. Notwithstanding the radical diversity of religious opinions, the nations that we call barbarian observe toward us the same law of men: the Turks, notably, let the Christians assemble with each other without the least opposition; they do violence to no one; they suffer strangers to organize separately and permit them to govern them-

[31] Dolet seems to imply by the word "barbarian" brute intelligence, in contrast with the higher intelligence of man; a more extreme significance than was usually given the word by the humanists.

[32] *Doleti in Thol. orat. prima,* pp. 6 and 7. Translated from Boulmier's biography.

selves in accordance with a special legislation. Things are not thus with the magistrates of Toulouse: we practice with them the same religion; we live submissive to the same government; we speak almost the same language.[33] Well! all these considerations do not prevent them from treating us as strangers, what do I say? as enemies! and from cutting off, against all human and divine justice, the privilege of association, the happiness of friendship. Who would not see in such acts hallucinations of inebriates rather than sober decisions, attacks of raging insanity rather than oracles of wisdom? Let them produce, then, these haughty autocrats who arrogate to themselves an absolute authority in the realm of law, either a law of the Twelve Tables or an article from the provincial customs, either a *senatus-consultus* borrowed from the fifty books of the *Pandects* or from the voluminous collection of Justinian, either a plebiscite or a prætorian decree, either a jurisconsult's rescript or finally a royal edict, which has ever prohibited a friendly and honorable corporation." [34]

In reading the above extracts one is convinced that whatever of violence there is in Dolet's oration is due wholly to the slavish imitation of his master, Cicero. We know but imperfectly the contents of Pinache's reply, but it was of a nature to irritate Dolet and to cause him later to make a violent rejoinder, which completed the discomfiture of Pinache and the Gascons. Thus there arose a bitter personal feeling between orators of hostile nations, and the nations themselves were set at odds with each other.

Étienne Dolet now set out on his career as a leader in the student life of the nations. The defiance of the nations in continuing their existence in the face of the parlement and the capitouls, the brawls between the alliances of the north and south as the result of the feeling engendered by Dolet and Pinache, Dolet's prominence as an officer of the nations, his skill and prompt readiness with his tongue, pen and sword, all made him a marked man and one to be conspicuously singled out in the minds of the police authorities.

Coincident with the troubles of the nations, the differences between the professors and capitouls grew in intensity to the point where the former went on a strike and refused to deliver their

[33] The language of Toulouse was the *langue d'oc*. Elsewhere Dolet heaps scorn upon the Toulousains because of their barbarous tongue.

[34] *Orat. prima in Thol.*, pp. 9–10. Tr. from Boulmier.

lectures. This *cessatio* or strike has been mentioned in the previous chapter. The parlement took a hand, and on December 9 passed a decree ordering the professors to resume their lectures and forbidding the capitouls and "all others" to disturb them, upon pain of a fine of one hundred *marcs* in gold. The struggles between the alliances and the disturbances on the part of the students in the streets of the town grew to such an extent that on November 5 the capitouls had renewed the edict against the assembling of the nations and the carrying of arms. That Dolet played a prominent part in these clashes, wielding his two-handed sword with successful results, there is no doubt, for on January 1, 1534, we find him elected as prior of the nation of France. R. de Boysson, in his book on Jehan de Boysson, *Un Humaniste toulousain,* gives the impression that Dolet's election as *imperator* or prior[35] took place immediately after the delivery of his first oration. The elections of the various nations seem to have taken place at the opening of the session in October, January 1, and the latter part of May. We have already seen that Dolet was orator in October, 1533. His election to this office had taken place in all probability in the previous May. The elections of the nation of Provence took place January 1, and sometimes at the other times which have been designated. From the disciplinary decrees of the parlement and the capitouls promulgated from time to time in the month of May, we learn that students were forbidden to form processions with *tambours* and *trompettes.* This means that they were forbidden to celebrate "Triumphs," which were an accompaniment of the election of prior, and which took place one week after the election. That there were elections in May there can be no doubt, and it is more than probable, as stated above, that Dolet had at this time been "purged of his infection," admitted to full fellowship, and elected to the office of orator. His term of office expired in the fall after delivering his oration at the first general assembling of the nations and after his successor was elected. If Dolet had been elected prior at this time, it is quite certain that he would have mentioned it in

[35] In the universities of Europe generally, the officials of the nations were designated by Latin names. The head of a nation was the *imperator* and the nations themselves were called *sodalitates.*

the letter which he wrote to his friend Jacques Bording on November 26:

"How satisfactorily, and with what increase to my reputation I performed my duties as orator (an office to which you know I was appointed by the French) I would rather you should learn from others than myself. This much I may say to you, that no one ever before at Toulouse spoke his mind more openly than I did. I refuted the decisions of the Parliament against the French fraternity in an oration no less brilliant than severe." [36]

Dolet's assumption of modesty, followed by his egotistical statement as to the force and brilliancy of his oration, causes an involuntary smile. In a second oration Dolet replied to Pinache, but it is clear from the above extract that it had not been delivered prior to his writing Jacques Bording. That he did not have the status of orator when the second oration was delivered, is proven by a further statement in the letter above quoted:

"This also I should tell you, that my term of office having expired, Thomasinus succeeded me, whose power of writing and speaking is, I think, known to you."

Incidentally, it is well in passing to correct the error which writers on Dolet have made, that Thomasinus succeeded Dolet as imperator or prior of the French. From Dolet's statement, it is to be seen that it was as orator that he was succeeded by Thomasinus.

Second Oration

The second oration was delivered upon some official occasion, and it is entirely logical to suppose that it was Dolet's inaugural address or *grâces* upon being elected prior. That this election took place January 1 is proven by the fact that Dolet's correspondence shows that the second oration was delivered some time before January 27. On that date Dolet replied to a letter which he had received from Arnoul Le Ferron of Bordeaux,[37] and in which the latter had taken him to task for his attacks on Pinache. In his letter of January 27 Dolet replied, defending himself from Le Fer-

[36] Christie, p. 144.

[37] Arnoul Le Ferron studied law at Toulouse and it was there that he and Dolet had met. He became a member of the parlement of Bordeaux and had a brilliant career.

ron's criticism. This brought on a correspondence between the two concerning the second oration. Thus it will be seen that this address must have been delivered early in January. There had been just time enough for an exchange of letters by the 27th. When we consider how slow were the means of travel in the sixteenth century we perceive that it must have taken several weeks for these events. Assuming that Dolet was elected prior on January 1 and that his second oration was delivered immediately after the election, or one week later at the time of his "Triumph," we then have this address fitted naturally into his student career. His election as prior implied that the students of the nation of France recognized him as preeminently qualified to be their leader and defender. As previously shown, we have only to turn to the secretary's book of the nation of Provence to learn what was expected of the prior: "who kept them at peace with each other and defended them against the others." The prior must be both a diplomat and a warrior. That the offenses the prior was called upon to avenge were frequently very slight, is shown by the narrative of a quarrel between the alliances of the north and south in 1571. A certain Gascon remarked: "the least of the Provençaux or Gascons is sufficient to whip the most valiant of the French." This careless boast brought on a conflict between the alliances which lasted for several months. The French ran to arms and the men of the south responded with alacrity. The prior of the Gascons and his band, armed with corselets, halberds, two-handed swords, and other arms, and the prior of Provence, armed with a cuirass, halberd in hand, and followed by his troop, fared forth to battle. In the scrimmage which ensued the French got the worst of the first round. The victorious Gascons pursued them to their lodgings, beating them with their fists and kicking them. The French dropped their arms and ran for cover in the closets, cellars, and other secret hiding places, "as when at the assault of a city, every one looks out for himself, fleeing before the fury of the troopers who have entered through the breach." Later, the town authorities, whom the chronicler naively dubs "Messieurs de la Ville," took a hand in the war, and "Monsieur the prior of Provence," taking refuge in the lodgings of a friendly Gascon, was besieged by the capitouls and the *guet*. Rather than allow himself

to be caught by the *fourrous,* he preferred to expose his life, and with sword in hand, leaped from the window. In the end he was caught and put in prison for eight or ten days, "à grands frais et despens, et à grand peine." The combatants, after several months of hostilities, from sheer exhaustion decided upon a truce. Upon the occasion of the entry of Charles IX in 1565, the nation of Provence elected a representative to harangue the king, demanding justice for the murder of one of the students by the capitouls during a raid by the latter upon the Estudes. In 1574, a student was imprisoned for "plusieurs crimes et délicts capitaux, comme violence, rebellions, meurtres, rapts, etc." He was condemned to be beheaded in the Place Saint-Georges, and was led to his execution "faisant exclamations, pleurs et plaintes contre la mauvaise fortune qui l'avait à ce conduit. . . ."

From the above as well as from the contents of the preceding chapter, it is clear that the position of prior was at all times a difficult and dangerous one, but never more so than in the session of 1533–34, at a time when the parlement and the capitouls were endeavoring to wipe out the nations, and when bad feeling was general between the town and the university. It was probably during this year that Rabelais visited Toulouse, the memory of whose visit is recorded in his *Pantagruel.*[38]

As previously stated, Pinache's reply to Dolet's first oration has not been preserved, but we know that it was of a nature to cause the latter's undying enmity. His hostility, instead of softening with time, appears to have grown more bitter, especially as it seems that Pinache denounced him to the parlement; and the second oration is largely taken up with an attack on Pinache, the Gascons, and the parlement which their leader had defended. Though we have been deprived of Pinache's oration, we know the general nature of its contents from Dolet's reply. He began with abuse and ridicule of his adversary, applying to him such epithets as *ineptissimus homo, imbecillus, obtrectator, imperitus rudisque declamator,* and taunting him with his personal characteristics: his tremulous and thin voice, sunburnt eyes, and rustic countenance.[39] He then went on to upbraid Pinache for denouncing him to the parlement:

[38] See passage quoted on page 102.

[39] Christie, *op. cit.,* p. 103.

"You then put to me this triumphant question: 'Who bethinks himself to attack the decrees of our parlement? Who dares to assume the responsibility for such an outrageous attack?' By speaking thus, you thought to pin me to the foot of the wall, and to forever close my mouth. Redoubling then the force of your hatred and fury, you, after a fashion, accused me of high treason, of *lèse-majesté* both divine and human; and you graciously concluded with the recommendation that I be either decapitated or hurled from the height of a rock (Pinache is here merely retorting to Dolet in Catilinarian style and must not be taken too literally), or else sewn up in a sack and sent to the bottom of the Garonne (as was no doubt frequently done to unlucky malefactors).[40] Hold on, my brave! I am going to give you back your own coin; only, I shall be more human, more Christian than you. I ask you now in my turn, who is posing as the defender of the parlement? Who is it that is pretending to avenge the honor of this noble body? It is you, terrible Pinache! . . . Come on, doughty champion! Come forward and terrify me with the forked lightnings from your hollow and ferocious eyes; turn toward me your countenance of a wild beast, your beard of a hairy satyr; rend me with your impudent mouth; cover me with your nasty slaver; and, to end matters at a single blow, have me dragged to the dungeons of this good city. The jig is up with me! My sentence of death has been pronounced! *There* is the lictor! *there* is the executioner! *there* is the instrument of torture! . . . Is it not enough to cause one to burst with laughter? Just look at him! A new Fabius carried off from his plow, he comes to regulate affairs in Toulouse, no longer by the shrewd temporizing of the Cunctator, but by the bold effrontery of his viper's tongue; a new Marcus Tullius, he is going to safeguard from my Catilinarian plot the power and authority of the Senate. The Comitia will thrust upon you the office of Consul: yours be the triumph, yours be the golden statue in the Forum! Come on, bold Gascon! strike, double your fury, make an end of me! Posterity will fall down dazed at the feet of your glory; the admiration of the whole world will bear you aloft to the skies; your name shall shine with an immortal halo, and never shall jealous oblivion obscure with its rust the sheen of your noble efforts."[41]

While Pinache is represented by Dolet's friends as a fellow of

[40] Gadave (p. 80) analyses a letter of Philippe le Bel (1292) "interdisant aux capitouls d'emprisonner, torturer et jeter nuit dans la Garonne les clercs et écoliers justiciables de l'évêque."

[41] *Orat. Lec. in Thol.*, pp. 33–36. Tr. from Boulmier, pp. 35–36.

small moment, it seems that he had been able to return to Dolet a Roland for his Oliver. From the latter's thrusts we learn that Pinache himself was skilled in the use of Cicero. In a letter to Arnoul Le Ferron, Julius Cæsar Scaliger praises him, calling him modest, learned and eloquent.[42] If Pinache was endowed with modesty, he possessed at least one good quality foreign to Dolet. To Pinache's taunt that he was only a slavish imitator of Cicero, Dolet gave vent to a rhapsody in praise of the master which is of interest as showing the extreme degree of the worship of Cicero by his followers of the Renaissance:

"I should laugh heartily at all the absurdities which have been uttered, were I not compelled to laugh, more than all, at the grossest and most enormous one: I refer to the incredible stupidity with which, in seeking to depreciate my literary merit, you have only exalted it beyond my wildest dreams. You thought to crush me under the burden of a deadly insult, by calling me a slavish imitator of Cicero. Immortal gods! The best day of my life is this day on which your illustrious testimony assures me of this glory, object of my fervent ambition from earliest boyhood; this beautiful dream which my modesty as a writer, which the consciousness of my feeble talents forbade me even to think of being realized. Ah! I am overwhelmed with joy! You have granted me the sole goal of my desires, of my studies, of my labors. By your own confession, my style appears to be modeled upon that of Cicero; that is (I ask nothing further), that I reproduce a semblance or shadow of that sovereign perfection, without pretending, for all that, to rival in eloquence a man whom it is permissible to admire, whom it is thoroughly legitimate to imitate, but to whose stature it is impossible ever to attain."

Pinache had attacked the French. Let us bear in mind, however, that this attack was directed at nations of the French alliance. To this attack Dolet replied by again assaulting the barbarism of Toulouse, following with a panegyric on France, the French, and Francis I. After this came a violent invective against the Gascons (the word "Gascons" no doubt being meant to include the whole alliance of Aquitaine) and defending Orléans from some previous assertions of Pinache. In order to crush Pinache and the southern nations the more completely, Dolet exposes the superstitious prac-

[42] Christie, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

tices prevailing at Toulouse, and denounces the execution of Jean de Caturce.[43] This, as well as the whole oration, was an assault on the alliance of Aquitaine, and must be considered only in that light. It must be kept in mind always that Dolet's oration was purely an affair of the students and a part of the fight between the contending alliances. Biographers have attached too much importance to Dolet's utterances on Toulouse and Jean de Caturce. We have already shown that there must have been at this time a revulsion of feeling concerning the execution of Caturce. Otherwise, Dolet, however rash he may have been, would not have dared broach the subject as he did. Furthermore, there would not have been so much point to it. He was trying to taunt Pinache and the Gascon nation, and used everything he could think of in order to do it. His whole aim was to make his enemies uncomfortable.

Francis I had come to Toulouse in August, 1533, with the intention of staying two weeks, but at the end of a week suddenly departed, without any one knowing his reasons. The students of the alliance of France claimed that it was because the king could not understand the barbarous language of the Toulousains, who still spoke the old *langue d'oc*. Dolet used this in his speech:

"What the reputation of Toulouse is for culture, for politeness of manners, for civilization, the recent sudden departure from the city of the king of France has shown. He came, he saw, he departed (Dolet knew his Cæsar: *veni, vidi, vici*). The vulgarity, the rudeness, the barbarism, the fooleries of Toulouse drove from hence the glory of France."

In his outbursts against the Gascons, Dolet asked a series of rhetorical questions, which seem to have been answered vociferously by his companions from the north. In a letter from Arnoul Le Ferron to Dolet, written early in February, we find the following:

"I now come to that part of your letter in which you deny that you have attacked our Aquitaine. . . . You were vexed that your native Gaul was insulted by Pinache, and, that it might not be done with impunity you attacked Aquitaine, and retaliated upon it his insults. What is the meaning of all those repetitions of the word 'Gascons' in your speech? 'Who are the assassins? The Gascons. Who are rob-

[43] Rabelais says: "but he [Pantagruel] stayed not long there when he saw that they did cause burn their regents alive like red herring."

bers, who are given up to every kind of wickedness? The Gascons.' You know better than I what else you said of the same kind, for the laughter of the French which followed these questions prevented me from hearing what you said next. And then as a chorus, after they had abundantly applauded you with laughter, they cried out, as I understand, 'How well he paints Aquitaine in its proper colours.' I should not write this to you did I not know that by that part of your oration to which I have referred many of my Gascon fellow-countrymen were offended, and that nothing was listened to with greater pleasure by your Gallic friends. How much better would it have been to have refrained from Aquitaine, and to have poured forth all the force of your eloquence upon your adversary."[44]

In a previous letter written before January 27, Arnoul Le Ferron had said:

"But I am greatly surprised that in the oration you lately delivered against Pinache you should have attacked our Aquitaine. For, so far as I know, the province has never injured you. But you say, 'I have been provoked by Pinache.' You might have attacked the man without attacking the province."

In his reply Dolet denied that he had attacked the province of Aquitaine. That his speech was interpreted by the Gascons as an attack on the province, was due to the sensitiveness of feeling between the northern and southern parts of France. Sectionalism has never completely died out in France, and must have been very strong in the sixteenth century. In his invectives against both Toulouse and Aquitaine, Dolet was simply giving a slap to his fellow-students of the southern alliance. If he had offended Pinache in his first oration, Dolet, by his second discourse, caused his bitterness to greatly increase. Pinache retaliated by denouncing Dolet to the authorities. The clashes between the cohorts of the opposing alliances grew more frequent and bitter. There is a tradition that Dolet's enemies paraded a swine through the streets adorned with the legend "Dolet."[45] To the Catholics the swine was a symbol of the nastiness of Lutheranism. Hence the biog-

[44] Christie, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[45] "Une procession burlesque fut organisée, où l'on voyait un porc trainé sur un char de triomphe et portant écrit sous son groin: 'Dolet.'" Deloume, *op. cit.*, p. 98. See also, Vaïsse-Cibill (Revue de Toulouse, 1862, p. 469), *Étienne Dolet, écolier à l'Université de Toulouse.*

raphers have attached some importance to the tradition concerning Dolet. But the incident, if it happened at all, had no significance in his career; it was merely a student prank and nothing more.

On the thirtieth of January the capitouls passed a new ordinance forbidding the students to assemble in nations and to carry arms. This was evidently insufficient to quell the *rixes,* for on February 27 the parlement passed a decree sterner than any that had been promulgated before. Students were forbidden to carry arms under pain of banishment, and armorers and lodging-house keepers were forbidden to lend or sell arms to students upon pain of the *hart.* In undergoing the ceremony of the *hart,* the victim was forced to ride through the streets in a tumbril with a rope around his neck, and frequently, if not always, this was a prelude to execution by hanging. The authorities were determined to quell the continual turmoil caused by the students in the nations. Time and again, in passing decrees against the students, the parlement and capitouls forbade them to accept the office of prior. The officers of the nations were naturally regarded by the authorities as the ringleaders in disturbances, and were held to account as the most responsible for them. In the following month of March, about three weeks after the decree of the parlement had been passed, Étienne Dolet, prior of the nation of France, was placed under arrest. R. de Boysson gives the following account of the incident:

"Scorning the decrees of dissolution, the students continued to assemble every day, more numerous and more noisy than usual; the municipal *guet* had made ineffectual attempts to disperse them; it soon appeared necessary to put an end to this persistent rebellion. The criminal lieutenant of the seneschal, Guillaume de Dampmartin, seigneur de Saint-Jory, caused Étienne Dolet and six young students to be arrested; prosecutions were entered against them, tending to condemn them to the most cruel punishments. Upon the speedy request of Jean de Boysson, the bishop of Rieux [Jean de Pins] intervened vigorously with Jacques de Minut, the first president [of the parlement]. Dolet was released; but the six other prisoners remained exposed to the anger of the municipal magistrates, who wanted to condemn them to death. Boysson, writing to Dolet, said: 'If they are delivered up to punishment, I can not be a witness of it, and I shall go away into another country in order not to see them die.'"[46]

[46] *Un Humaniste toulousain,* p. 75.

Boysson gives some further account of the situation, but there are several inaccuracies in his narrative which it may be well to point out. He places at this time Jehan de Boysson's *disputatio* upon "Substitutions" with an Italian professor, Lancelot Politi. This event occurred in June, 1535.[47] He states that the queen of Navarre paid an official visit to Toulouse in April, 1534. The entry of the king and queen of Navarre into Toulouse occurred in March, 1535. He still further narrates in connection with Dolet a revolt of the students which occurred a year later in March, 1535, when the king of Navarre paid a visit to the college of Foix.[48] Therefore, this uprising and the poems composed by Boysson and Voulté concerning it, and which the author of *Un Humaniste toulousain* includes in his account of Dolet's career and arrest, have nothing whatever to do with him, for Dolet had left Toulouse before that time.

In a letter of March 1, 1534, Dolet wrote to his protector, Langeac, Bishop of Limoges, in which he mentioned the arrival of cardinal Grammont in Toulouse:

"The archbishop has lately arrived at Toulouse, suffering from a disease of such severity as to preclude the hope of a much longer life, ..."[49]

Dumège states in connection with the entry of the cardinal:

"A decree was published against blasphemers, and the parlement, always ready to give examples of severity, caused one of these unfortunate wretches to be burned at the stake in the Place de Saint-Georges."[50]

Dubédat mentions the entry of cardinal Grammont and ends a paragraph preceding:

"One of these students, impenitent and supercilious blasphemer, was burned alive."[51]

Evidently both authors have the same event in mind, and this is further proof that Dolet's troubles were of a different nature from those frequently ascribed by those who have written of him.

[47] Gadave, *op. cit.*, p. 141.
[48] Gadave, *op. cit.*, p. 141.
[49] Christie, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
[50] *Institutions de la Ville de Toulouse*, vol. 2, p. 240.
[51] *Histoire du Parlement de Toulouse*, vol. 1, p. 173.

If Dolet's arrest had been caused by heresy, he would not have got off so easily. In the earlier stages of the Reformation the word "Lutheran" had a vague significance, being applied to a person for almost any sort of difference of opinion. To call a man a Lutheran meant most of the time simply calling him by a bad name, very much as the epithet *franc maçon* came to be used at a later date, or as the words "spy" and "propagandist" were often used during the late war. It was not until later, at the period when the religious issues had become clear-cut and well-defined, that the word Lutheran acquired a definite and specific meaning. If Pinache and his fellows of the alliance of Aquitaine called Dolet a Lutheran, it was not seriously taken. The reasons for Dolet's arrest are clearly shown in the letter which Jean de Pins wrote to president Minut, requesting his release. The letter not only shows the causes of the arrest, but we gather from it that the first president had never heard of Dolet. So it is plain that the arrest caused little stir in Toulouse:

"If I did not know perfectly well how favorably disposed you are towards the pursuit of letters and the choice spirits who cultivate them, I could not get my consent to write to you; I should not recommend to you Estienne Dolet, a young man of rare and superior intelligence; I should not ask you to defend him, in the midst of his perils, with your supreme and very equitable patronage. However, I by no means despair of your granting my request, when you learn the knowledge and unusual erudition of my *protégé*. For, I know in advance: you will be no less charmed than I at his singular and unbelievable dexterity of mind. He is such a master of the Latin language, that it seems that he was born to handle it as he chooses. . . . There arose recently between him and some Aquitanian grammarian or other a literary discussion which pleased me at first, thinking that they would both find in it a means of exercising their talent and augmenting their eloquence. . . . But, as far as I can see, something totally different has come out of it. Drawn on by the factious passions which animate their respective sides, these young men soon quitted the literary lists to run to arms. Fortunately, I learn that up to the present there have been no deplorable results. In the meantime, Dolet has been put into prison, a vicarious victim to answer for the whole [nation]. He is even under the cloud of a very grave imputation, since he is accused of having been lacking in respect toward the parlement. Enough on this chapter: I should fear to annoy

you. Our common friend who hands you this letter will at the same time give you more ample details of this affair." [52]

From the above we see the reasons for Dolet's arrest. First, as prior of a nation, he was selected as the victim to pay for all. Secondly, he was charged with lack of respect toward the parlement Both charges were well founded, and the second doubly so. Dolet's irreverence toward the parlement in his orations and his defiance of that body by continuing in the face of prohibition as the leader of the nation of France were abundant provocation to cause his arrest. Let it be again borne in mind that the parlement had charge at that time of the discipline of the students, occupying the relation to them that is now occupied by the teaching force in the colleges and universities. So Dolet's offences were breaches of student discipline and nothing more.

On April 22, 1534, Dolet wrote to his friend Jacques Bording at Paris:

"I now relate what has happened since my last letter to you. The association of the Gascons as well as of the French has been dissolved by decree of the parliament. This decree was vehemently complained of by all of us, as both unjust and unusual. But we were not able to attain our object, and the power and authority of the barbarians outweighed our desire of cultivating friendship. An altercation arose between Pinache and myself. I publicly defended myself against his attacks. He was utterly crushed by my oration, and when he found himself intellectually my inferior, he wickedly used fraud, and with a false accusation that in my oration I had not only attacked the parliament but had violated the honour of the city of Toulouse, he caused me to be thrown into prison, not only participating in doing the injury to me, but even taking the lead in it. For some days I suffered from the general unpopularity of my friends, which however was easily put down by the authority of our friend Jean de Pins and the assistance of the president de Minut. I derived both great advantage and glory from the machinations and perfidy of my enemies, since I was convicted of no crime, but was formally acquitted by the parliament. The oration which I formerly promised you, as well as the one I lately delivered against Pinache, you must not expect; . . . but as you have waited for

[52] Tr. from Boulmier, *op. cit.*, pp. 51–52.

them upwards of three months you will easily endure the addition of one or two months longer." [53]

From Dolet's letter we see that his arrest was caused by Pinache and that Pinache was present when he was led off to prison. We can imagine that Dolet was dragged away, with a crowd of exulting Gascons bringing up the rear. We are also led to infer that the nations were dissolved temporarily, since no mention has been preserved in the various archives of Toulouse of further troubles with the students, until March, 1535.[54]

The rest of Dolet's troubles and final expulsion from Toulouse were caused by his pen, and not by his sword. His arrest wounded his pride and rankled in his breast. While he considered his release and vindication at the hands of the parlement in the light of a triumph over his hereditary enemies, Pinache and the Gascons, yet he was humiliated. The arrest had been executed by the officers of the seneschalty, and it seems directly at the instance of the *juge-mage* Dampmartin,[55] whose superior in office was the lieutenant general of the seneschalty, Gracien du Pont, sieur de Drusac. Dolet's acquittal by the parlement was no doubt resented by the higher officials of the seneschalty as an invasion of their privileges. The seneschalty had been since the middle of the fifteenth century in a struggle against the rising power of the parlement and had persistently refused to allow the latter to share with it the Palais de Justice. The parlement finally triumphed in 1555, and the seneschalty from that time steadily declined in importance.

The Poet

While Dolet's departure from Toulouse was indirectly caused by his arrest, the immediate cause was his appearing in the annual contest of the Floral Games and the after results. During the sittings of the Floral Games, May 1–3, 1534, Dolet read a sheaf of poems, ten in number, written in Latin. These poems are analysed by Christie (page 95) as follows:

[53] Christie, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–152.

[54] Gadave, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

[55] Guillaume de Dampmartin was a licencié, lieutenant clerc au sénéchal, juge-mage, and, in 1537, capitoul.

"The first is addressed to the Muses; the second to Phœbus, imploring his help in the contest; the third sings the praises of the judges, the fourth those of Clémence Isaure, and the fifth those of the ladies of Toulouse. Then come the praises of Paris; an invocation of the Muse (recited on the second day); two odes in honour of the Virgin; and, finally, one addressed to the Muses, 'which was the last poem recited by Dolet in the contest.'"

The records of the Floral Games for 1520–1534 inclusive do not appear in the *Livre Rouge,* so we know nothing of the details of the contest nor of the winners and their poems. That Dolet was not one of the winners is conceded, as any one who has studied Dolet's writings is convinced that if he had won he would have mentioned the fact.

There is a conclusive reason for Dolet's failure to receive a prize. As has already been stated in the first chapter, the Floral Games about the year 1513 had abandoned the old *langue d'oc* and along with it the ancient Provençal forms of verse. For the native language French had been substituted, and for the *vers* and *canso* the French *ballade.* In 1539 the *chant royal* began to appear among the winning poems and eventually became the sole form for which a prize was awarded. But at the moment when Dolet contested the *ballade* was the accepted form in which the winning poem must be composed, and it had to be in French. The *Livre Rouge* contains several poems in Latin, but they are insertions and were not the poems for which prizes were awarded. Dolet's poems were all in Latin and none of them in the form of the *ballade.* From the beginning the Floral Games had cultivated religious poetry. In addition to the technical difficulties, the judges must have considered Latin poems a sort of profanation, and while they would admit them as a part of the program, they would not give prizes for them. We have seen elsewhere that the young poets continued to read or recite poems in *langue d'oc,* but no longer were any prizes awarded for poems written even in the native tongue. So no matter how superior Dolet's poems may have been they could not win the prize. We may be sure that he was aware of this fact.

The biographers of Dolet have not placed his appearance in the Floral Games in the proper sequence and have been at a loss to

explain his failure. It has been suggested that Dolet's failing to win a prize was due to the hostility of the capitouls. Christie also suggests that the reigning literary favorite of the reactionary element was in the contest and won over him. This was Gracien du Pont, later author of the *Art et Science de Rhétorique*. Gracien was not a contestant, but was, on the contrary, one of the mainteneurs, and therefore a judge in the contest. The *Livre Rouge* does not contain a record for the year 1534, but the subsequent records show that Gracien du Pont, sieur de Drusac, was a mainteneur from 1535 to 1544. That he was a mainteneur in 1534 there can be no doubt.[56] The *Livre Rouge* also shows evidence of a struggle at this time between the mainteneurs and the capitouls, the latter insisting on their right to participate in elections and in the awarding of prizes. This quarrel was temporarily adjusted a little later by enforcing a rule made in 1513, that only the three capitouls known as *bailes* (proxies) should be admitted to participate with the mainteneurs and maîtres in the election of officers and as judges of the contests. That the capitouls were participating as judges about the time of Dolet's appearance in the contest is proven by the biting epigram which Jehan de Boysson (who was himself a mainteneur) composed against "Les capitouls marchands qui jugent des fleurs à Tolose":

> Quand j'ai pensé, je treuve bien estrange
> Vouloir juger des coleurs sans y veoir:
> Cellui qui a toujours mangé fange,
> Veuille de l'or le jugement avoir;
> Qu'un ignorant cognoisse du sçavoir,
> Ou qu'un marchand juge de l'esglantine;
> Qui ne sait rien de la langue latine,
> Juge des faictz de Virgile ou d'Ovide.
> Cellui ressemble à l'homme qui chemine
> En lieu non seur, et l'aveugle le guide.
>
> —*Dixain 26* of the first *Century*.

[56] The election and reception of new mainteneurs were invariably fully recorded in the *Livre Rouge*. Since no mention is made of Gracien du Pont in the record of 1535, save that he was one of the mainteneurs present, it is certain that his election had taken place at some meeting of the Floral Games prior to 1535.

R. de Boysson cites this poem as written upon the occasion of Dolet's appearing in the contest and it has been generally used to explain the failure of Dolet to receive a prize. The capitouls, eight in number, chosen annually to represent the eight districts or wards of the city, were selected for their ability in handling the practical side of the city's affairs and were not apt to be men of rare culture and learning. The mainteneurs and maîtres resented their participation in the Floral Games further than seeing to it that the city (as it had done from the very beginning) supplied the necessary funds for maintaining the prizes in the annual contests. The mainteneurs were chosen generally from the parlement, the university and the higher officials of the seneschalty, and the maîtres (poets who had won all three of the flowers or prizes) were generally graduates, or at least students, in the university. So there was an intellectual gulf as well as a social one between the capitouls, more often mere *bourgeois* merchants,[57] and the mainteneurs, who had enjoyed intellectual advantages, and who if not actually of noble estate, occupied positions of high rank in the parlement or university. Later in the century (1590), the parlement passed a decree stipulating that at least three of the capitouls should be *licenciés* or *docteurs ès lois.*[58]

While Jehan de Boysson's poem against the capitouls may have been inspired by Dolet's entrance into the contest, there is good reason to believe that it may have been composed after the meeting of the Floral Games in 1535, at a time when the differences between the mainteneurs and capitouls reached an acute stage over the election of a chancellor. The chancellor, Jehan de Chavagnac, having died between the meetings of 1534 and 1535, the capitouls proceeded to elect Pierre Fabri (du Faur) to the office. This put the mainteneurs in a dilemma. They could not bear the invasion of their rights by the capitouls, and yet because of his prominence, they could not afford to offend Pierre du Faur. They found a way around the difficulty by annulling the election of the capitouls and proceeding to elect Pierre du Faur anew. Jehan de Boysson (as shown by the *Livre Rouge*) was present at this stormy meeting in

[57] See note 7 to page 92 for the low esteem in which merchants were formerly held in France.

[58] Gadave, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

his capacity of mainteneur, and it is quite probable that the events of 1535 were the inspiration of his attack on the capitouls.

The capitouls of 1534 were not all ignorant men. Among them we find Jean de Cananea, *docteur; . . .* Benoist, *docteur,* seigneur de Pachbonieu; François Dechans, *procureur au parlement;* Pierre Guillemette, *docteur;* Jean de Bernuy,[59] Jean Bole, Pierre de Souberne, and Pierre Chevalier are described as *bourgeois.*[60] Thus, we find at least half of the *capitouls* men who were in all probability capable of understanding and appreciating poems in Latin. Even if all of the capitouls had been incapable of appreciating Dolet's poems and had voted against him, the votes of the mainteneurs and maîtres would have outweighed them if the latter had been in favor of Dolet. The chancellor, seven mainteneurs and the several maîtres generally present would have outnumbered the capitouls; so it is plain that the aspiring poet's defeat can not be ascribed to them.

[59] Jean de Bernuy was a rich merchant of Toulouse who had made a fortune out of the pastel plant, used for dyeing until the indigo industry developed in America. The trade in pastel was an enormous industry in south France and contributed largely to its economic welfare. When Francis I was imprisoned in Spain, as stated previously, Bernuy contributed handsomely to his ransom, and when the king later, in 1533, visited Toulouse, he was entertained lavishly by Bernuy and stayed in his home. The Hôtel de Bernuy was a splendid mansion in the Renaissance style planned by the celebrated Toulouse architect and pupil of Michel Angelo, Nicholas Bachelier. It is still standing, forming a part of one of the lycées or high schools of Toulouse. The room in which Francis I stayed is still pointed out to visitors. In the Protestant Conspiracy of 1562, says Dumège, the Hôtel de Bernuy was invaded by the Catholics and pillaged. Shortly after that it was pillaged again, this time by the Huguenots. It was the finest and richest house in Toulouse. La Poplinière (mentioned in the last chapter) says that gold and silver were carried off by the looters in hatfuls. A daughter of Jean de Bernuy became the wife of Mathieu de Chalvet, a brilliant parlementarian of Toulouse, translator of Seneca, laureate and mainteneur of the Floral Games. Jehan de Boysson celebrates him in one of his *Dixains* to *Glaucie:*

> Si veulx avoir ung amy qui soit riche,
> Cherche Nolet, Lancefoc ou Bernuy:
> Et si tu veulx ung amy qui soit chiche,
> Qui son profict ayme plus que l'aultruy,
> Prens ceulx la mesme; . . .

Nolet was a merchant and Lancefoc a *bourgeois.* Both were at one time capitouls.

[60] Dumège, *Histoire des Institutions de Toulouse,* vol. ii, p. 240.

Some of the epigrams of Jean Voulté, in which he hints that the prizes of the Floral Games were not always awarded honestly, have been thought to have been inspired by Dolet's participation in the contest. Perhaps so, but Voulté's evidence can not be accepted as reliable, for he did not arrive in Toulouse until after Dolet's departure for Lyons.

Jean Facinot, who took the surname "Vulteius" and was commonly known as "Voulté," born about 1510 at Vandy-sur-Aisne, became through his training an ardent humanist, and was called to a professorship in the famous college of Guyenne at Bordeaux. The principal was André de Gouvéa, himself an enthusiastic humanist, who applied the principles of humanism in the school under his charge.

"André de Gouvéa sought to put into practice the doctrine of the humanists, who demanded that young minds should be familiarised with the oratorical forms of thought, rather than trained in the search for its nature. He reduced to two years the philosophy course (which was three at Paris) and banished from literary studies all preparatory drill in logic." [61]

Voulté left Bordeaux in 1534 and went to Toulouse where he remained until 1536. He arrived in the fall after Dolet had left,[62] and therefore could have known of his experience in the Floral Games only by current gossip. It is quite likely that Voulté's epigrams were composed with Dolet in mind, and if so, they throw light on how the humanists at Toulouse regarded Dolet's failure to get a prize. The following allusion is from the *Carmina:*

"O Clementia, te quænam dementia cepit
Hæredem ingratam constituisse domum?
Recta fuit forsan, sed non tua facta voluntas;
Munera, ni demens, hæc tua nullus habet.
Ut quondam victa est cæco sub judice Pallas,
Sic minor est ludis docta Minerva tuis!"

Dolet's natural tendency toward egotism was intensified by his state of mind as a humanist. Not only would his pride be stung by not receiving a prize, but he no doubt experienced rage as a

[61] Jules Quicherat: *Histoire de Sainte-Barbe,* t. i, p. 232.
[62] Christie, *op. cit.,* p. 299.

humanist at being defeated by barbarians.[63] Nobody but a barbarian would continue to write poetry in French and clothe it in the garb of the old mediæval *ballade!* Dolet must have had some similar feeling to that, later so violently expressed by the poets of the *Pléiade,* who, while they championed the cause of their native tongue, as a worthy vehicle for poetry, cultivated Latin and Greek forms and scorned the native *ballade, chant royal,* etc. In the chagrin that he felt, what is more natural than that he should have turned his resentment upon the authors of his discomfiture,—the judges of the Floral Games? And was not Gracien du Pont, the author of his imprisonment, one of the judges? The embittered poet retaliated for his defeat by pouring out the vials of his wrath upon Gracien du Pont.

Gracien du Pont

Gracien du Pont, sieur de Drusac, mainteneur of the Floral Games, was the lieutenant general of the seneschalty, and a character of considerable official importance in Toulouse. He made pretensions as a writer and was the author of at least two works whose names have come down to us. In January, 1534, had appeared the first of these from the press of Jacques Colomiès: *Les Controverses des sexes Masculin et Feminin.* Aucq Priuiliege du Roy. pet. in-fol. Goth. On the back of the last folio are the following lines:

[63] Dolet must have known the rules governing the contest. We can only conjecture why he persisted in presenting only Latin poems to the judges. Was his appearance there a premeditated challenge? The present writer is inclined to think so, although M. François de Gélis, in a recent letter, suggests that Dolet may have conformed to the rules by composing a poem in French which has been lost. He further asserts that extraneous poems were not read during the sixteenth century in the presence of the judges, but before the audience assembled for the annual occasions. The fact that extraneous poems were inserted from time to time in the records of the *Livre Rouge,* and the numerous references of the secretary in his proceedings to poems other than those for which prizes were awarded, leads one to believe that not only were such poems read before the judges, but that sometimes prizes were awarded for a contestant's poems as a whole rather than for a specific one. If this was not the case, why were supplementary poems transcribed on the records of the *Livre Rouge?* In Dolet's case, the most natural supposition is that he intentionally carried the battle of humanism into the contest of the Floral Games, the stronghold of "barbarity."

"Dedans Tholose: imprime entierement
Est il ce liure: sachez nouuellement
Par maistre Jacques: Colomies surnomme
Maistre imprimeur: Libraire bien fame
Lequel se tient: et demeure deuant
Les Saturnines: Nonains deuot couuent
Lan Mil. CCCCC. trente et quattre a bon compte
Du moys Januier. xxx sans mescompte."

The second of his works above referred to appeared under the title:

Art et science de rhetorique metriffie, avec la definition de synalephe, pour les termes qui doibuent synalepher, et de leurs exceptions. Les raysons pourquoy synalephent, et pourquoy, non. Choses encores non specifiees, ny illucidees par les Autheurs qui ont conpose. Par Gracien du Pont, escuyer, seigneur de Drusac. (Nouvellement imprimée aud Tholose par Nycholas Vieillard 1539. pet. in 4°.)

Les Controverses des sexes Masculin et Feminin acquired considerable popularity or notoriety, if we are to judge by the number of successive editions which appeared. In addition to the first one of 1534, a second appeared in 1537, and a third in 1538. Fourth and fifth editions appeared at Paris: Jannot, 1540; Maur, la Porte, 1541. As late as 1564 it was still of sufficient importance for a certain François La Borie to refute it in a book entitled: *Anti-Drusac ou Livret contre Drusac, fait à l'honneur des femmes nobles, bonnes et honnestes; par manière de dialogue.* Tholose, 1564, in 8°. Christie says of the different accounts of Drusac:

"By far the best notice is that of Goujet, but in his last paragraph he has been led into an error, which I have not seen anywhere corrected or even noticed: 'I also find cited other "Controverses des sexes masculin et féminin" by François Chevallier, printed in 1536 in 16°. But I do not know the purpose and method of this work. La Croix du Maine and Du Verdier do not mention this author at all, and I know him only by the citation of his book and by a *rondeau* which he composed in praise of the *Controverses* of Gracien du Pont, to be found at the beginning of this last work, and in the title of which rondeau François Chevallier is called native of Bordeaux and qualified as a Collegian of the College of Foix at Toulouse.' The book which is

erroneously cited as by François Chevallier is no other than the edition of Drusac's own book printed at Toulouse in 1536, in which the rondeau of Chevallier addressed to Drusac will be found."[64]

At the end of this edition is found:

"*Requeste du sexe Masculin, contre le sexe Femenin.* A cause de celle & ceulx qui medisent de Lautheur du Livre, intitulé les Controuerses des sexes masculin et feminin. Baillée a Dame Raison, ensemble le plaidoye des partis. Et arrest sur ce interuenu."

Dumège in his *Biographie toulousaine* devotes the following sketch to Drusac and his book:

"Gracien Dupont, Esquire, seigneur de Drusac, lieutenant of the seneschalty of Toulouse, born in the neighborhood of this city towards the end of the fifteenth century, displayed himself not only as ungallant but also as a bad poet. Embittered no doubt by his ill success with the ladies, deceived by them, and perhaps their laughing-stock, he intrusted his revenge to his pen, and used it only to insult the women, the usual recourse of those whom they have maltreated. His indignation, which not even the muses favored, for they too showed themselves fickle to the noble Dupont, inspired him to write a satire, published under this title: *Controverses des sexes masculins contre le féminin,* a wretched piece of work from every angle, and one which proved to those who read it, to what extent the ladies were right in laughing at the expense of such a detractor. Dupont judged otherwise, and his spleen not yet being sufficiently vented, he launched a second diatribe entitled: *Requête du sexe masculin contre le féminin.* . . . This multiplicity of editions proves nothing in favor of the work, but simply indicates that the ladies have a multitude of enemies always delighted to hear them maligned; perhaps too, at that time every abandoned lover purchased a copy of these satires. . . . Dupont, in a preface, tells us he had travelled little; it was useless to say that he had almost always remained in his own province; so much the worse for him; that he had not studied much; one would have guessed that without any trouble. He says:

'La première est des raisons que vous livre,
Que jamais plus n'ai composé de livre.'

. . . Two reasons, he continues, have prompted him to write: the first is to give young men models, examples of all sorts of rhymes, or of every variety of verse. Certainly he might have dispensed with it;

[64] Christie, *op. cit.*, p. 115, note.

posterity would have picked no quarrel with him for keeping silence. The second reason, and forsooth the real one, is to exhibit the character of wicked women, their malicious tricks, their infernal spirit, the snares which they spread, and the secrets of their conduct. This author did not spare them; he is even unwilling to admit that they have been created, like man, in the image of God. 'The devil himself,' he says, 'had the care of shaping their persons.' Du Pont raises the question as to whether a man should marry or not, and answers it in the negative. A wise man would do better to live a life of celibacy than to have his days poisoned by woman, who is less of companion than shrew. Not content with dealing with woman generally, the author enters into an historical survey, recounting what both sacred and profane authors have had to say to the disadvantage of women." "We must not think," concludes Dumège, "that the *beau sexe* remained without a defender. Dolet, precisely in the extravagant fury of the seigneur de Drusac, composed against him several Latin odes, in which, not sparing him insults, he covered him with ridicule. . . . To be sure, the ladies of Toulouse had good right to hate our author, for since he had not travelled, they were the only ones that he had reason to complain of. Dupont, in spite of his works, not even for his life time escaped oblivion. The period of his death is unknown, and the particulars of his life."[65]

Boysson gives a physical portrait of Drusac, describing him as old, fat, obese, with protruding and pendent paunch, red complected and red headed. The *Livre Rouge* indicates the period of Drusac's death. In 1545, François de Bertrandi, *président aux enquêtes,* later *président à mortier,* was elected mainteneur of the Floral Games to succeed Gracien du Pont, seigneur de Drusac, deceased. This means that he had died between the annual meetings of the Floral Games for the years 1544–1545. At the time of his death, Jehan de Boysson composed the following *Dixain:*

Le virile sexe, aïant peur que Drusac
Changeast propos et mist au ciel les dames,
A la Mort fit de prières un sac,
Pour l'empecher qu'il ne dist bien des femmes;
Pourquoy la Mort le mit entre les âmes,
Qui de ce siècle ont en l'aultre passé.
Or, pleurés donc, dames, ce trépassé,

[65] Dumège: *Biographie toulousaine,* vol. i, p. 189.

Qui voustre honneur eust levé jusqu'au Ciel.
Si la Mort l'eust encore icy laissé,
Vous eussiez ey et le fiel et le miel.
—*Dixain 2, tierce Centurie.*

At another time, Boysson, who had followed in the footsteps of Marot in adopting the *coupe féminine,* ridiculed Drusac in a *Dixain:*

Pourquoy Druzac n'use de Coppe fémenine.

J'ai vu débatre entre plusieurs pourquoy
Druzac n'usait de coppe fémenine;
Et l'ung disoit: Certainement je croy
C'est non sçavoir que son cerveau domine.
L'aultre disoit: Non, c'est la vieille mine
Qui veut défendre avecques pertinence.
Mais moy, requis que sentence en donnasse,
Dis que c'est hayne encontre cellui sexe;
Voyla pourquoy tant la coppe déchasse;[66]
Tout fémenin, tant qu'il peut, il le vexe.
—*Dixain 44, première Centurie.*

That Dolet should have singled out Drusac as the object of attack is not strange. In the first place, Drusac was the author of his humiliating imprisonment and one of the chief disciplinary authorities with whom the students of the nations had to contend. In the second place, among the poems which Dolet had read in the meeting of the Floral Games was one in praise of the ladies of Toulouse. As to whether this poem had been inspired by Drusac's book we do not know, but we can imagine that the ladies present roundly applauded the young poet in the presence of the mainteneur and judge, Drusac, who had so vilely calumniated them in his book. Nor do we know just what happened, but we know that Dolet, in his chagrin, attacked Drusac and his book. As has been stated, Christie does not seem to have been aware that Drusac was a mainteneur, and hints that Dolet's spleen may have been aroused over having been defeated by Drusac in the contest. He is further in error in placing Dolet's appearance in the Floral Games in the

[66] Repousse.

meeting of 1532 or 1533. Drusac's book did not appear until January, 1534; the most rational theory is that Dolet's attack on the book occurred after his defeat in the Floral Games where Drusac was a judge. Six odes of Dolet are directed *"in Drusacum vulgarem poetam Tholosanum qui librum in foeminas scripsit."* In one of his odes, the poet says that Drusac's book would be most useful to the grocers to wrap up pepper[67] and such condiments in, and suggests other still more humiliating purposes for which it could be usefully employed; while in another ode, printed with the orations and written by a friend of Dolet, whose name is not given, Dolet is charged with a too flattering partiality to Drusac in suggesting that any use could be made of such rubbish, and the writer explains with considerable humour, but in language which will hardly bear translation into a modern tongue, why the book of the unfortunate lieutenant of the seneschalty was unsuited even to the humiliating purposes to which Dolet had assigned it.[68] R. de Boysson gives an account of Dolet's attack on Drusac. He says that the lieutenant of the seneschalty "was one of the VII Mainteneurs of the Gay Science, debauched and full of vanity, who had just published a volume of wretched French verses, composed with the sole view of criticising or defaming the ladies of Toulouse; his name was Gracien du Pont, siegneur de Drusac; the humanists had often exposed his grammatical ignorance, and at the same time the brutality of his attacks. Dolet, with his aggressive temperament, soon became the most violent of his adversaries, insisting every day upon the errors of style of the mainteneur of the Floral Games and the coarse impropriety of his words. The ladies of Toulouse, proud of having won a defender of such courageous eloquence, spread broadcast the libels of Étienne Dolet. The lieutenant lodged complaint against his redoubtable adversary and in the end obtained the

[67] Si tuum quisquam neget esse librum
Utilem, prorsus temere loquatur:
Nempe tergendis natibus peraptus
Dicitur esse.

Nemo nec jurat piperi tegendo
Commodum, aut, scombris, quibus officinæ
Par tuo servant operi volumen
Uno obolo emptum.
—*In Dampmartin, judicem Tholosanum, III.*

[68] The ode of Jehan de Boysson quoted above.

powerful intervention of the seneschal. The capitouls and the parlement, furthermore, saw in this intervention a favorable means of quieting the rebellion of the nations." [69]

Dolet's Flight

Dolet's assaults on Drusac and his book enraged the latter, who at once took steps to get rid of his opponent. Toulouse became too hot for Dolet, and in the latter part of May or early in June he fled to the country, where he remained in secret retirement until the last of June, when he set out for Lyons in company with his devoted friend, Simon Finet. He was delayed in his journey by an illness which apparently began before his escape from Toulouse, and did not arrive at his destination, Lyons, until August 1, "worn out in mind and body."

From his place of concealment in the country he had, on June 8, written a letter to his friend, Jehan de Boysson, to which the latter replied on June 13. In the letter he said:

"As to what is going on here, since you wish me to tell you about it, know that you have left behind you much affection among many, and that the number of those who esteem you and grieve that you have departed is not small: among them are the noblest and most honourable matrons of the city, with whom you have acquired great favour on account of your epigrams against Drusac." [70]

A week later, Dolet wrote to Boysson:

"I am very pleased to learn that there is affection felt for me and a pleasant remembrance of me left among the good; this is a proof that I am hated by the wicked only. I hear that Drusac is continually and with increased bitterness urging the parlement to issue an edict against me. He is a savage and brutal wild beast, whose unbridled fury not even the flight of his enemy has allayed." [71]

Dolet had just signed this letter of June 22 when he received the news that the parlement had passed a decree sentencing him to perpetual banishment from the city and from the whole of the district within its jurisdiction. He thereupon added the following postscript:

[69] *Un Humaniste toulousain*, p. 76.
[70] Christie, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
[71] Christie, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

"Since the signing of my letter to you I have received news, both by messengers and letters, that Drusac has obtained an edict forbidding my return to Toulouse. I am in no degree disturbed by the persecution of so worthless a fellow."[72]

Some time after Dolet's arrival in Lyons, Simon Finet wrote a letter to Claude Cottereau, in part as follows:

"You are not ignorant of the great intimacy between Étienne Dolet and myself. When the violent threats and still more baleful influence of a certain wicked and abandoned man compelled him to leave Toulouse, he took me as his companion to Lyons, with the intention of publishing both what he had written against Toulouse, and also some letters and very graceful odes which he had addressed to divers persons. In this way he sought by his pen to avenge the injuries which he had received at Toulouse."[73]

Conclusion

In conclusion, it must be repeated that Étienne Dolet's departure from Toulouse was caused primarily by his connection in an official capacity with the nations. While the immediate occasion of his leaving was the quarrel with Drusac, yet this quarrel of itself would not have been sufficient motive for action against him, however great the authority and influence of Drusac might have been. Drusac had a good weapon to use against Dolet, and he used it. Although the nations had been temporarily suppressed, there was restlessness and discontent among the students. To get rid of one of the ringleaders would be a lesson for the rest. Besides, Dolet fully intended publishing the orations containing the attacks against the parlement and Toulouse. Perhaps this was urged against him with the parlement. In the last place, in addition to the question of his connection with the nations and his literary quarrel with Drusac, we must consider Dolet's situation with regard to the struggle between the seneschalty and the parlement. In the broader sense, Étienne Dolet was the victim of the general shifting and readjustment of the political forces in France during the century of the Renaissance. Christie treats Dolet as the martyr of the Renaissance, but he fails to understand his connection with the political

[72] Christie, *op. cit.*, p. 163.
[73] Christie, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

movements of the times at Toulouse. His share in the struggles of humanism while a student was but a secondary one, and it is in the political changes of the times that we must seek the broader interpretation of his earlier career.

That Étienne Dolet's stay at Toulouse affected his after-career at Lyons and played an important part in his final execution at the stake in the Place Maubert at Paris, there can be no doubt. His banishment from Toulouse put him under a cloud, just as expulsion from college to-day puts a student under a cloud. But far greater and more important than this, is the fact that he learned at Toulouse the skilful use of the two-handed sword and was a bold fighter. On December 31, 1536, Dolet had an encounter in the streets of Lyons with a painter named Compaing, in which the latter was slain by the sword of the former. At his trial, Dolet entered a plea of self-defense. One of the documents relating to his sentence some years afterwards, says: "It happened to him to have the misfortune to commit homicide on the person of this painter."[74] Dolet was released, but it was this murder that was directly responsible for his final incarceration and execution. His enemies, the friends of Compaing, worked untiringly to bring him to justice, finally succeeding in having him rearrested on trumped-up charges of heresy; or rather, he was first arrested merely on suspicion of heresy and the charges were discovered later by searching his books minutely for heretical utterances. After his successive trials had dragged along for several years, he was finally condemned.

"On the 2nd of August, 1546," says Christie,[75] "the first president Lizet, sitting in the *Grand Chambre*,[76] pronounced sentence on Dolet as guilty of blasphemy, sedition, and exposing for sale prohibited and condemned books . . . and condemned him to be taken by the executioner in a cart from the prison of the Conciergerie to the Place Maubert, where a gallows was to be erected in the most convenient and suitable place, around which was to be made a great fire, into which, after having been hanged on the said gallows, his body was to be thrown, with his books, and burnt to ashes, his property to be confiscated to the king."

[74] Christie, p. 306.

[75] P. 470.

[76] The sittings of the parlement were held in a hall called the *Grand Chambre*.

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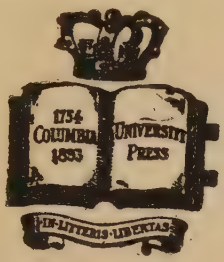

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